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THE VOYAGE

OF

FRANÇOIS LEGUAT.

VOL. I.

No. LXXXII.

SKELETON OF LEGUAT'S SOLITAIRE
PEZOPHAPS SOLITARIA in the
Museum of Zoology, Cambridge

THE VOYAGE

OF

FRANÇOIS LEGUAT

OF BRESSE

TO

RODRIGUEZ, MAURITIUS, JAVA, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE FIRST ENGLISH EDITION.

Edited and Annotated

BY

CAPTAIN PASFIELD OLIVER,

LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

"*Si forte necesse est*
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum."

VOL. I.

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[3] For description, see Appendix B, p. 387 *et s q.*

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In the following story of the remarkable adventures and sufferings endured by François Leguat, events are narrated which belong to a period considerably later than that of any other travels or voyages treated of in former publications undertaken by the Hakluyt Society; nevertheless, the date of the personal record follows somewhat closely upon the time of the latter portion of William Hedges' diary,[1] to which, indeed, it forms a not altogether unfitting sequel, by affording information regarding the system of Dutch administration and colonisation in the East Indies, and at the Cape, towards the end of the seventeenth century, and by giving a graphic sketch of the circumstances of French Huguenot emigration from Europe to South Africa at that epoch. The chief modern scientific interest, however, in Leguat's description undoubtedly hinges upon the circumstantial delineation which he gives of the curious bird-fauna then extant in the Mascarene Islands, the subsequent destruction of which has rendered the personal observations of the philosophic Huguenot invaluable to naturalists, marked as they are by such evident simplicity and veracity.

[1] The last entry in Wm. Hedges' diary is dated 1688, and Leguat's narrative commences in 1689.

It is now the pleasurable duty of the Editor to acknowledge and place on record, in the commencement of this volume, the kindness and ready assistance which he has met with in every branch of his inquiries from numerous literary and scientific friends during its preparation. First and foremost, it is to M. James Jackson, the well-known librarian of the Société de Géographie, that the Editor owes his acquaintance with the early French editions of the Huguenot author. To the researches of M. J. Codine, of the same Society, are due the more exact knowledge, which geographers possess, as to the approximate date of discovery of the several Mascarene Islands, on which subject most erroneous views had previously been entertained. It is regrettable that want of space has compelled the abridgment of M. Codine's admirable reasoning on this subject.[1] M. Sauzier's discovery and reproduction of the rare Du Quesne *Mémoire*[2] have contributed largely to the better comprehension of several of Leguat's allusions, although there is yet reason to doubt whether the particular *Mémoire* from which the quotations were taken has been absolutely identified. Several of M. Eugène Muller's notes have been utilised by permission of the annotator, and the clues afforded by the Appendix of the small edition of Leguat's book, republished by the Librarian of the Arsenal at Paris, have been found most suggestive. Naturally, the contribu-

[1] *Vide* Appendix A, p. 308.
[2] *Vide* Introduction, *infra*.

tions of M. Alph. Milne-Edwards to the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*[1] and other periodical scientific journals have been largely used for the elucidation of the natural history of Rodriguez; it would be impossible to illustrate any work on the Mascarene Islands without incurring a heavy debt to this celebrated naturalist. M. Gabriel Marcel, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has taken an infinity of pains in answering, most minutely and categorically, numerous and somewhat pertinacious questions, which have been addressed to him by the Editor on various points, bibliographical and geographical, in connection with this publication, thereby aiding largely towards its correctness. M. A. Bouquet de la Grye, the French Hydrographer, most courteously enabled the Editor to obtain an accurate transcript of the Abbé Pingré's original manuscript journal at Rodriguez, hitherto unpublished, which has proved most useful in elucidating certain doubtful points. Mr. R. W. Shufeldt, of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, U.S.), has readily permitted the reproduction of his clever restoration of the Giant bird of Mauritius, whose existence, however, is still problematical; and Mr. Van Kampen has been good enough to revise whatever passages have been translated from the Dutch of Valentyn by Mrs. Salmon. The thanks of the Hakluyt Society are due to all the above foreign contributors to their work, as well as the Editor's personal gratitude for their very sympathetic help and encouragement.

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, p. 320.

Having, as in duty bound, first of all made his too inadequate acknowledgments of what he owes to his friendly helpers across the seas, the Editor must now proceed to offer his no less sincere thanks to those of his own countrymen who have communicated so freely to him the results of their patient investigations of all branches of science treated of in the following notes.

Pre-eminent among zoologists and ornithologists, the Professor of Zoology at Cambridge (where Strickland and Melville's collection finds an honoured position), and his brother, Sir E. Newton (to whose indefatigable explorations the world owes the rehabilitation of Dodo, Solitaire, Aphanapteryx, and their congeners), have furnished far more material for notes and explanatory illustration of Leguat's text than the Editor has been able to treat properly or satisfactorily within the space at his command. Moreover, the learned Professor and his brother have taken much personal trouble to secure for the Editor, not only access to the rich store of osteological remains of the Mascarene birds in the museum (which, by the way, is constantly acquiring fresh *trouvailles* from the cave earths of Rodriguez and Mauritius), but also a photograph[1] of the skeleton of the bird which has conduced to render Leguat's name immortal. These scientists, so profoundly skilled in the subject of most enticing interest in Leguat's history, have also assisted the Editor by

[1] The photograph taken for Mr. Bidwell in November 1889, has been reproduced by Messrs. Morgan and Kidd, of Richmond.

their critical perusal of his proof-sheets, so far as they concern their special department.

Whilst the avi-fauna of the Mascarenes has received such close attention from Professor Alfred Newton and Sir Edward Newton, the flora of Rodriguez has been subjected to keen examination and classification by Professor Isaac Bayley Balfour, of Edinburgh; and in the report to the Royal Society, which resulted from his visit to the island in connection with the Transit Expedition of 1874, the Editor has been able to find all he could possibly desire in the task of identifying the plants mentioned with much *naïveté* by the Huguenot writer two hundred years ago. Mr. J. G. Baker, F.R.S., and Mr. Scott Elliot, of Kew, have also aided the Editor by suggestive advice in the difficult and unaccomplished problem of ascertaining the identity of a certain poison-tree of Mauritius, mentioned as causing disastrous effects on the old traveller. Professor Günther, likewise, has readily given all information asked of him with regard to the wonderful tortoises of the same islands; whilst Professors J. Legge, Sir Thomas Wade, and K. Douglas have courteously proffered helpful suggestions as to Leguat's rather confused ideas of the Chinese philosophers.

Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office, has rendered most important assistance to the Editor by permitting him to consult the various books of travel in the Library, which could not easily be elsewhere obtained. Indeed, his cordiality and kind advice

have helped the Editor not a little. It may not be out of place also here to record the very great boon which the London Library has proved itself to be for any writer who resides out of town, and at a distance from the British Museum, when engaged on a work requiring constant references.

The secretary of the Hakluyt Society has obligingly revised, suppressed, altered, and added to many of the Editor's original notes throughout the first part. Whilst thanking him for his efforts to secure additional correctness by his revision, the Editor is reluctantly compelled to dissent from some of the conclusions arrived at and published by his coadjutor, especially in those notes on the Banyan, the Pandanus, and the Pepper, wherein Mr. Delmar Morgan differs from the opinion formed after personal observation by that expert botanist, Professor Bayley Balfour.[1] Finally, the revision of the second part by Mr. Clements R. Markham, and his timely correction of a very important mis-statement in the first part, deserves the hearty recognition and thanks of the Editor. Mr. Wm. Griggs, by his admirable *facsimile* reproductions of the original plates, has largely contributed to the complete illustration of the text.

S. PASFIELD OLIVER.

MORAY HOUSE, STOKES BAY, GOSPORT.
16 *May* 1891.

[1] *Vide* pp. 65, 67, 103, 104, etc. The entire list of the numerous notes furnished by Mr. Delmar Morgan is given in the Index. The Supplementary Note on the Dugong is especially valuable.

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Mathurin B.
(see plan)
Passe Grande Base
Passe Dennis
Sandy I.
Passe au Sable
Quatre vingts
Brisans
Passe Simon
Passe l'Ancre
Pte l'Ancre
Flat I.
Passe Flatte
Pierrot
Goldfinch
Crab I.
Corbett
Destroy
Thermidor
Pte Coton
Passe St François
Trous d'Argent
Passe Ommaine
Patte Reynier
South East
(see plan)
Middle Ch.
Eastern Passe
Western Passe
Grande Passe
Flat Coral Reef dry in patches with shallow pools and canoe passages at L.W. Springs

INTRODUCTION.

FIVE or six years before the deaths of Cardinal Richelieu and his sovereign, Louis XIII—that is, about the year 1637-38—François Leguat appears to have been born in Bresse, a small province (represented at the present day by the department of Ain, on the Savoyard frontier) between the confluent streams of the Rhône and Saône rivers. Our author's ancestor, Pierre le Guat, is mentioned as the Seigneur of la Fougère, in the *Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey*, by Samuel Guichenon.[1] Of his early days little is known; but, according to his own account, when over fifty years of age, he was driven into exile, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and with many others took refuge in Holland in the year 1689. At this time the Marquis Henri du Quesne, son of the celebrated naval commander of that name, was projecting, under the sanction of the States-General and the directors of the Dutch East India Company,

[1] The arms of LE GUAT FOUGERE are given in the *Indice Armorial*, as: "d'azur à une fasce d'or, à un Lyon passant de mesme en chef, & 3 estoiles aussi d'or, en pointe." Guichenon writes: "Je n'ay point veu de plus ancien Seigneur de la Fougere que Pierre le Guat, Secretaire de Charles Duc de Savoye vivant en l'an 1511 & 1534, qui fit bastir la maison & en acquit le fief." (Vide *Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey*, par Samuel Guichenon, Seigneur de Painesuyt, Lyon, 1650, p. 54.)

the establishment of a colony of French Protestant refugees in the island of Mascaregne, now known as Ile de la Réunion. The Marquis had previously published[1] a glowing description of this island (which he proposed to name Eden), the largest of the group discovered by the Portuguese in the preceding century, but as yet imperfectly explored and vaguely marked as Las Mascarenhas in the old maps and portulans; so that many refugees were desirous of becoming colonists in the new paradise of the southern hemisphere, and two ships were chartered for the purpose of taking possession of this hitherto supposed uninhabited island, to one of which Leguat was officially appointed as major.

On learning, however, later, that a French squadron[2] was under orders to sail for this island (which had, indeed, been re-annexed in 1674 by M. de la Haye, the French *Viceroi des Indes*, for the French East India Company), the Marquis du Quesne suspended the preparations for his abortive scheme, following the precise injunctions of his father, never to take up arms against the French Government, and, instead, contented himself with fitting out a small frigate, *La Hirondelle*, whose

[1] Vide *Un Projet de République à l'Ile d'Eden (l'île Bourbon) en* 1689, par Le Marquis Henri du Quesne. Réimpression d'un ouvrage disparu, par Th. Sauzier, Paris, 1887.

[2] A squadron of six ships, commanded by M. du Quesne-Guiton, left l'Orient de Port Louis, on the 24th February 1690, for the East Indies; but not for Mascaregne. The Father Tachard, often quoted by Leguat, was a passenger for Siam in one of the ships.

commander was directed to reconnoitre the islands of the group, and to take possession of whatever island was found unoccupied and suitable for colonisation. This change of plan does not seem to have been communicated to the small band of adventurers who embarked as emigrants under the idea that they were to be landed on the Isle of Eden, the terrestrial paradise of their anticipations, and the small expedition finally left Texel on the 10th July 1691.

The commander of the *Hirondelle*, M. Valleau, whom Leguat charges with the basest treachery, having professedly discovered at the Cape that Mascaregne had been formally annexed by the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales (who had placed M. Vaubolon there as governor), passed by this delightful island, which, in truth, fully justified the praises and descriptions of the Marquis, tantalising the scurvy-stricken colonists by the enchanting prospect it exhibited to their eyes, and continuing his voyage to the eastward, anchored off the smaller island of Rodriguez[1]; and here, on the 1st May 1691, Leguat landed with eight of his fellow-adventurers, somewhat disappointed with the unexpected change in their programme, but sufficiently pleased with the place to decide that they would remain for two years and see how fortune might

[1] In the official colonial reports this island is now always styled Rodrigues, but in the Admiralty charts and sailing directions it preserves the name Rodriguez, and this latter nomenclature is adopted in the present work.

favour them. The *Hirondelle* shortly afterwards sailed for Mauritius, having landed arms, utensils, seeds, and provisions, in addition to the private stock of supplies and necessaries which each colonist had provided for himself.

It is the record of the careful personal and detailed observations, made by Leguat on the then existent fauna and flora of the island, during this period of seclusion from the world, that has rendered the simple story of the Huguenot exile so deeply interesting to naturalists of the present day; and, consequently, in the following notes and appendices which accompany the text of the original translation, the confirmation of Leguat's remarks upon the appearance and habits of the remarkable birds and animals, now altogether extinct, by the late investigations of modern men of science, has been especially dwelt upon; for the veracity of the main facts recorded in this charming narrative of adventure has been fully established in the most notable particulars by eminent authorities in Europe.[1]

[1] "Telle est l'idée que Leguat nous donne du *Solitaire;* il en parle non seulement comme témoin oculaire, mais comme un observateur qui s'étoit attaché particulièrement et long-tems à étudier les mœurs et les habitudes de cet oiseau; et en effet, sa relation, quoique gâtée en quelques endroits par des idées fabuleuses,* contient néanmoins plus de détails historiques sur le *Solitaire* que

* "Par example, au sujet du premier accouplement des jeunes solitaires, où son imagination prévenue lui a fait voir les formalités d'une espèce de mariage; au sujet de la pierre de l'estomac, etc." —As it happens, this so-called fabulous story of the stone has been fully confirmed.

After a residence of two long years' duration in Rodriguez, the settlers, wearied with discontent and hopeless of assistance, constructed a boat, in which they succeeded in reaching Mauritius after a most hazardous voyage. Unfortunately, they had only escaped from one evil to fall into greater trouble, for the avarice of the governor of the Dutch convict establishment caused them to be treated with the utmost cruelty and injustice. They were imprisoned on an exposed rocky islet at a long distance from the shore, and in attempting to escape, one of their number perished miserably. At last the survivors, who had contrived to send news of their sad plight to Europe, were transmitted, still in confinement, to Batavia, where they disembarked, in December 1696, only to be again thrown into prison. After examination, however, before the Dutch Council their innocence was established, but they were unable to obtain the slightest redress for the pain and suffering they had endured, or compensation for the losses they had sustained. It was not until March 1698, after the proclamation of the Peace of Ryswick, that Leguat and two others, the sole survivors of the original party, landed at Flushing.

At this period crowds of French refugees were

je n'en trouve dans un foule d'écrits sur des oiseaux plus généralement et plus anciennement connus. On parle de l'autruche depuis trente siècles, et l'on ignore aujourd'hui combien elle pond d'œufs, et combien elle est de tems à les couver." (*Le Solitaire.* Art. par M. de Gueneau de Montbeillard, *Histoire Naturelle par Leclerc de Buffon*, par C. S. Sonnini. An. IX.)

streaming over to Britain, and it is interesting to hear what a friend of Leguat, writing at this period (1697-1698), says on this subject. M. Henri de Valbourg Misson (not Maximilien Misson, whose connection with Leguat will afterwards be discussed) writes:

"The *French* Protestants that fled into *England* are so spread over the whole Country, that it is impossible to be certain or so much as guess at their Number. Besides the eleven Regiments which are wholly made up of them, there are some in all the other Troops. A vast many of both Sexes are gone into Service in various *English* Families; so that there is scarce any considerable House, where you may not find some of our Nation. Many have set up Manufactures in the Country and Churches at the same time: Abundance went to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to *Jersey* and *Garnsey*. At present there are Two and twenty *French* Churches in *London*, and about a Hundred Ministers, that are in the Pay of the State, without reckoning those that are arriv'd at other Means of subsisting." (M. Misson's *Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England* (1697-98). Written originally in French, and translated by Mr. Ozell, 1719)

Among others of his compatriots Leguat now migrated from Holland to England, where he seems to have settled for the remainder of his life. He was about sixty years old, but it was not until 1708, when he was a septuagenarian, that the manuscript of his *Relation* was printed and published in London, in French and English simultaneously, whilst a French edition was published in Amsterdam,[1] and

[1] Original French Title:—"Voyages et aventures de François Legnat et de ses compagnons en deux isles desertes des Indes Orientales. Avec la relation des choses les plus remarquables qu'ils ont observées dans l'isle Maurice, à Batavia, au Cap de

a Dutch version was printed at Utrecht *in quarto*.[1] These original editions were soon followed by German translations printed at Frankfort and Leipsic in 1709, another French edition was produced in London in 1720, and an abridged edition appeared later in 1792. [There was another abstract translation published under the title of *The French Robinson*,[2]

Bon Espérance, dans l'isle de Sainte Hélène, et en d'autres endroits de leur route. Le tout enrichi de cartes et de figures." (Two vols., 12mo. London and Amsterdam, Mortier, 1708.)

[1] Original Dutch Title :—"De gevaarlyke en zeldzame Reyzen van den Heere François Leguat. Met zyn byhebbend Gezelschap Naar twee Onbewoonde Oostindische Eylanden. Gedaan zedert den jare 1690, tot 1698 toe. Behelzende een naukeurig verhaal van hunne scheepstocht; hun tweejaarig verblijf op het Eylandt *Rodrigue*, en hoe wonderlyk zy daar af gekomen zijn. Als meede De wreede mishandelingen door den Gouverneur van Mauritius; hun driejaarig bannissement op een Rots in Zee; en hoe zy door ordre der *Compagnie t'Amsterdam*, buyten verwagting, daar afgehaald en naar *Batavia* gevoerd wierden. Uyt het Fraus in't Neerduyts overgebragt. En met noodige Landkaarten en verdere Figuuren voorzien. *Te Utrecht*. By Willem Broedelet, Boekverkoper op den Dam, 1708."

Translation :—"The perilous and wonderful voyages of Herr Francois Leguat and his companions to two uninhabited East Indian Islands, made between the years 1690 and 1698, containing a minute account of their voyage, of their two years' stay on the Island of Rodrigue, and of the wonderful escape from it. Likewise, of the cruel ill-treatment by the Governor of Mauritius, of their banishment during three years on a rock in the sea, and how they were unexpectedly fetched away by order of the Company at Amsterdam and taken to Batavia. Translated from the French into Dutch. With the necessary maps and other illustrations."

[2] German abstract.—Der Französiche Robinson, oder F. L.'s Reisen und Begebenheiten in Bibliothek der Robinsone, 1805.

and one[1] was prepared but never published in 1846.]

The book was well received, and reviewed favourably by the literary journals of the day, so that its publication brought its author into notice, and Leguat became acquainted with Baron Haller[2] and other scientists of that day; among others who thus came to know him was Dr. Sloane, the secretary of the Royal Society. The adventurous traveller remained in exile in England, and, from a contemporary notice in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*,[3] it appears that he attained the great age of ninety-six years before he died at or near London in September 1735.

According to M. Eyriès,[4] in the *Biographie Universelle*, the narrative of Leguat's voyage was

[1] "One of these adventurers (Huguenots or refugee Protestants of France), M. Leguat, has left a narrative of their sojourn on the island, which, after relieving of its excessive prolixity, I purpose publishing under a separate form." (*England's Colonial Empire*, vol. i, by C. Pridham, 1846.)

[2] Baron Albert de Haller, a well-known anatomist, botanist, and almost universal genius, was born at Berne, 1708, came to England in 1727, so he could only have known Leguat when the latter was in his extreme old age, nearly a nonagenarian.

[3] *Bibliothèque Britannique, ou Histoire des Ouvrages des savans de la Grande Bretagne pour les mois de Juillet, Aout et Septembre*, 1735, tome v. Under heading "Nouvelles Litteraires":—"Mr. Leguat est mort ici au commencement du mois de Septembre, agé de nonante & six ans & aint conservé jusqu'à la fin une grande liberté de corps d'esprit. C'est le même qui publia en 1706, la Relation d'un Voyage, dont voici le titre. . . . ."

[4] M. Jean Baptiste Benoit Eyriès, author of the *Abrégé des Voyages Modernes*. See *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, tome xiii. Paris, 1819.

generally supposed to have been published by a certain unfrocked Benedictine monk, named Frédéric Auguste Gabillon. This person was an ingenious literary adventurer, who, having completed his studies in Paris, joined the order of the Théatins, but soon, repenting the sacrifice of his liberty, escaped from his convent and fled to Holland, where he shortly after professed the reformed religion. Being without resources, he worked at compilations for booksellers, but getting into debt went over to England, where he took the name of Jean Leclerc (a noted journalist) and imposed on several persons of distinction.[1] It is certainly possible that this renegade may have imposed on the simple-minded

[1] "Mais à propos de Mr. *Le Clerc*, vous ne serez pas fâché, que je vous raconte une avanture où il a quelque part, sans qu'il le sache. Vous avez parlé autrefois dans vos *Nouvelles* du Sr. *Gabillon*, Theatin, venu de France en Hollande, au sujet d'un Livre, où il prétend expliquer les motifs de sa Conversion. Mais vous n'avez pas, je pense, jugé à propos de parler de celui qu'il fit l'année passée contre Mr. *Le Clerc*. Vous savez qu'il avoit taché de le dédier chez vous à diverses personnes, qui l'avoient refusé. Mais vous ne savez pas, qu'il a eu la hardiesse de le dédier ici (Londres) à Mr. le Duc. . . .* dont il a surpris l'honnêteté. Peu de temps après voyant que cela ne réussissoit pas à son gré, il a changé de batterie. Il est allé voir quelques Théologiens Anglois de cette Ville, qui ne connoissent Mr. *Le Clerc* que de réputation, & leur a dit qu'il étoit ce même Mr. *Le Clerc* sur quoi on lui a fait civilité. . . . On a, de plus, dit, qu'il avoit contracté des dettes, & attrapé un Libraire, chez qu'il a pris des Livres à crédit. . . . ." (*Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, *op. cit.*)

* Possibly the Duke of Kent, to whom Leguat's English edition was dedicated.

Leguat; and, indeed, President Bouhier (as evidenced by a note in his handwriting in his own copy of Leguat's book) was of opinion that Leguat owed to Gabillon *les faits altérés* and the digressions on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, which are so prominent in our author's work. Baron Haller, who, as already mentioned, knew him personally, always declared that Leguat was a frank and sincere man; nevertheless, M. Bruzen de la Martinière, also a contemporary, in his *Geographical Dictionary*, does not scruple to class Leguat's Voyage among "the fabulous travels which have no more reality than the dreams of a fevered brain". Ever since, this very inaccurate judgment has not seldom been held by many. On the other hand, the observations of Leguat have been amply confirmed by the evidence of his contemporaries and of voyagers who followed in his footsteps; while recent investigation has proved the general correctness of his observations in a remarkable degree.

M. Jacques Bernard (the successor of Pierre Bayle), in his continuation of Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for December 1707, noticed Leguat's volume when first published, and made the following critical remarks on its authorship:

"The Preface of this Book is not by the Author of the Work. He who has composed it maligns various persons of merit, some of whom will perhaps scorn to notice his insulting expressions, and others will not fail to retaliate on the first opportunity. I (M. Jacques Bernard) have already received from two separate sources a Memoir and a Letter

against this Preface. But as they concern personal quarrels in which the Public has no interest, I have not thought fit to insert them in my Review, especially the Memoir, in which the attacks of the Author are warmly repulsed. I have already, elsewhere, advertised that, if I cared to utilise all the writings which concern the personal disputes of Authors, I should have room for nothing else. I repeat my notice again, that unless the Memoirs sent to me contain something useful to the Public, I cannot publish them.

"A person very well informed on all subjects of which the narrative is given in this book of travels tells me that there are some facts exaggerated, that some essential points have been omitted, and that some others are inserted which are absolutely false. In this last class may be placed a certain argument of some length on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, which is, to my taste, the most uninteresting reading in the whole book; the fictitious columns on which were engraved the names of the voyagers, said to have been left in the Island of *Rodrigue*, and the Epitaph on Sieur Isaac Boyer, which may be said to be both ridiculous and slightly fanatical. It is asserted that the author blames without reason the design which the voyagers had in leaving the spot where they were wasting their youth miserably in idleness. It is said that he has had little consideration for a distinguished family (Bénelle ?) in attributing to one of its members frivolous schemes which he most assuredly never advanced. In short we are told that the whole Book is a tissue of rubbish (*fatras*), which so obscures the real adventures that it is necessary to recast it altogether in order to correct it, which someone will, perhaps, be able to do some day.

"It is astonishing that a stranger's hand should thus have disfigured a Voyage which was perfectly capable of attracting interest by the mere recital of the actual adventures, of which it could have been composed. Those who have met with some of the persons mentioned in it know that it was not necessary to exaggerate these adventures to render them

interesting, as they were sufficiently so in themselves. We shall give a very short extract from it, in which we shall try to disentangle the truth from the false as much as we possibly can. . . .

"In spite of some additions, made in various places of this Voyage, which consist mostly of reflections, which it is easy to distinguish, the reading of it is most agreeable."

"In fact," writes M. Th. Sauzier[1]:—"Casimir Freschot (a laborious writer, translator and compiler, 1676-1716), the anonymous author of *Remarques Historiques et Critiques*, etc., whom Leguat, without naming, indicates and severely vilifies in his preface, tells us that this self-same preface[2] had been composed by one well-known Maximilien Misson, and that the work had been drawn up by Paul Bénelle of Metz." (*Vide, Nouvelle Relation de la Ville et République de Vénise.* Utrecht, 1709.) At the same time, M. Sauzier informs us, there appears under the name of Leguat, in the *Catalogue Général des Livres composant la Bibliothèque du Département de la Marine* (Paris, 1840), the following note: "The Preface is by Maximilien Misson; the work has been written by Paul B... of Metz."

Nevertheless, Maximilien Misson apparently refers to this work on Venice in his preface to the fourth

[1] See *Un Projet de République*, p. 23.

[2] "Monsieur Misson, Autheur d'un Voyage d'Italie, ayant pris l'occasion d'un nouveau voyage de François Legaut, qui s'est imprimé pour y faire une préface s'y est terriblement déchainé contre l'Autheur d'un autre voyage de même nature qui avoit oté remarquer quelques bevues qu'il avoit faites dans le sien. . . ." (pp. 221-95).

edition of his *New Voyage to Italy*, 1714, wherein he states :—

"Some Time ago, a friend of mine wrote me word from *Holland*, that a certain Priest of the Romish Sect[1] had published a *French* Translation of a little *Italian* Book, which is a small Abstract of the Lives of the Doges of Venice; and that this Man takes an Occasion to speak undecently of the worthy Mr. *Amelot* and of *Us*, because of certain Truths that we have both Written with some Freedom, concerning that Country. If that Book happens to come into *England*, and it should fall into our Hands, we may perhaps consider it a little, and say something more particular of it in some other Place. But since it seems to be condemn'd to the *Scombri* of *Horace* and *Martial*; and none of those that publish Journals of Litterature, having yet vouchsafed to mention it, I may very well say of the Censures of this Author, what the same Martial said of the despicable Verses of a certain *Diaulus*; without giving myself the Trouble of refuting him any other Way.

Versiculos in me narrant scripsisse Diaulum; at
Non scribit cujus Carmina nemo legit.

I will then content myself with adding a Word concerning the Book of Mr. Leguat (A good and honest Gentleman) in[2] which they assure me that the Priest speaks much otherwise than he ought to do. It seems, say they, that he grounds his unjust Liberty upon the Account he has seen of Mr. *Leguat's* Book, in the Journal that is intituled, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*; in which the Author of the said *Nouvelles* uses very ill, without any Reason, both Mr. *Leguat*, and the Relation he has published.

"These sort of *Journals* ought not to be turn'd into *Defamatory Libels*, no more than *Sermons*. The Journals of *Paris Amsterdam*, *Leipsick*, *Trevoux*, nor any of the Rest, have

[1] Casimir Freschot.

[2] This should probably read "*of which*", judging from the context.

nothing in 'em but what is civil; and the good *Republick of Letters*, is not at all pleas'd with Reading such slandering *News*. It would be a strange Thing indeed, that the most innocent and commendable Persons should be inevitably expos'd to the Mercy of malicious *Preachers* and *Journalists*, of the like Character, because their *Satyrs* generally go unpunish'd. Some Reasons which are not necessary for me to explain here, oblige me to say here in favour of Mr. *Leguat*, that the Relation he has published, is *faithful* and *true*; as reasonable Persons also agree that it contains many Circumstances which are very extraordinary and worth Relating; I am equally certain of both. The Objections that are made against an Epitaph, and two other small Particulars of that Nature, in his Book, are fit only to shew the Inconsideration of those that make 'em, as well as their great Unkindness. As it has often happen'd, that the Writer of the abovesaid *Nouvelles* has ridicul'd some Books of which he has made Extracts, so he took a Fancy (judging of others by himself) that Mr. *Leguat* was pleased to play upon the *Abbot de Choisy*, in quoting some Words out of one of his Books. But he ought not to give such a traducing Turn to Mr. *Leguat's* Conduct, which has been very innocent. I know upon his secret and sincere Protestation, that he never had the least Intention, in his mentioning the deserving Gentleman I just now nam'd, to say any Thing that cou'd be taken in a disadvantageous Sense, and might derogate from the great Esteem he has for him."

Now, it is noticeable that Maximilien Misson does not, in the above quoted extract, deny the authorship of Leguat's preface attributed to him; whereas in a few pages afterwards he takes the trouble to disclaim the authorship of another work fathered upon him, although he acknowledges to some share in its production :—

"The Authors of the Journal of *Trevoux*, have been mis-

inform'd concerning another Fact, of which I shall take Notice here, since I have an Opportunity of doing it. I declare that the Book, which they mention, Page 323, of their Third Volume, and which is attributed to me, as they say, by the general Consent, is none of my Works. I had some Share in the Edition that was made of that Rhapsody. . . ."

M. Misson evidently thought that M. Bernard had a grudge against him, for he adds :—

"He of whom we have already spoken, who writes (or did write not long ago) *la suite des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (of which the Famous Mr. *Bayle* was the first contriver, and who always has sought after every Opportunity of disobliging, by a Miserable Return of Revenge, a Person who never gave him the least Offence whatsoever . . . . he affected to Advertise the Publick (or those that read his *Nouvelles*) that I was the Person whom Father *Montfaucon* attack'd and contradicted; for truly, this Father points at me without mentioning my Name."

Maximilien Misson, who was a Huguenot by birth, and a refugee in England subsequent to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was notable for his extreme fanaticism and Protestant zeal. He is best known by his *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie*, to which Addison added his remarks. The Benedictine monk, Père Freschot, in his *Remarques historiques* (Cologne, 1705), had exposed with vigour the rude jokes in which Misson had indulged against the Romish Church, and, writes M. Weiss, "Misson replied to him most bitterly in his preface to the *Voyage* of François Leguat, of which he was the real editor, and not Gabillon, as President Bouhier had supposed; and Freschot replied to

him with sharp retorts in the *Nouvelle Relation de la ville de Venise*." (Vide *l'Examen Critique des dictionnaires*, par M. Barbier, tom. 1er, p. 355, 1820.)

It indeed seems from the above, as well as from the internal evidence afforded by comparing many interpolations in the text of Leguat's narrative with parallel allusions in Misson's previous works, that either Misson must have been the compiler and collaborateur of Leguat's book, or Leguat must have repeatedly referred to Misson's publications. In the notes subjoined to the text several of these passages are brought to the attention of the reader; but, on the other hand, M. Th. Sauzier, whose careful examination of the subject entitles his opinion to be received with the greatest respect, seems to consider that the assertion, that Leguat was not the author of the whole work bearing his name, is without any foundation. M. Sauzier argues that the notice above quoted from the *Bibliothèque Britannique* establishes a perfectly clear and precise statement in an authoritative work,[1] published at the very

[1] *La Bibliothèque Britannique*, ou Histoire des Savants de la Grande Bretagne (La Haye, 1733-47), 25 vols., in 8vo. It is a continuation of the *Bibliothèque Anglaise* commenced in 1717 by Michel de la Roche. The writers in it were well-qualified authors, whose knowledge of English literature was considerable; their names are given in the *Historie d'un Voyage Littéraire, fait en* M.DCC.XXXIII, par Charles Etienne Jordan (La Haye, 1735), p. 159:—"Il parut pendant mon Séjour à Londres, un nouveau Journal sous le Titre de *Bibliothèque Britannique*. Il y a toute

time of Leguat's death, that our centenarian, who had preserved to the last his great freedom of mind and body, was indeed the very author of the book in question. "For besides," he writes, "what credence can be placed in this Freschot, the very same who is so abused in the preface of Leguat, and who, without furnishin any proof, tells us that neither the preface nor the work are written by that traveller?" Had he not some interest in attributing this preface to Maximilien Misson, who, in 1691, had published, like himself, a work upon Italy: *Nouveau Voyage en Italie?* As to the note inserted in the Catalogue of the Marine Library, M. Sauzier is under the impression that it is merely a reproduction of what Freschot said. "The son of a merchant of Metz, Bénelle was one of the seven adventurers, the companions in misfortune of Leguat, the only one whom he, from some motive of which we are not informed, has designated by initials (see page 6). Bénelle returned into Holland in 1698 with Leguat and Jacques de la Caze. The last proceeded to settle in America; Leguat proceeded to England, and Bénelle lived at Amsterdam, where he died in 1746. Jean Beckmann, in his *Histoire littéraire des Voyages*, published at Göttingen in 1808-10, writes:—

apparance que ce Journal aura un heureux succès: les Auteurs sont Gens de Mérite, & qui entendent tous parfaitement l'Anglois: Messieurs Stahlin, Bernard, le Missy, le Mr. Duval, & le Savant Mr. Darmigeaux, aussi M. Blanfort."

"'The truth of the Narrative of Leguat can be established by a valuable testimony: He names Paul B..., one of his two companions who returned with him, in 1698, to Flushing. A descendant of this B. is the wife of Councillor Von Martens, to whom I owe the following information:—Paul Bénelle was with his father, when they were obliged to quit France on account of their religion; they betook themselves to Amsterdam, where, at the age of twenty years, Paul decided to make the voyage to Eden, which du Quesne had depicted in so charming a fashion. After eight years he came back to his father at Amsterdam. There he lived, after having contracted two marriages, until 1746 [that is, eleven years after Leguat's death], that is to say, until the age of 70 years. He has acknowledged the truth of Leguat's story, although, indeed, he was not precisely his friend. This Bénelle has also left a journal, which probably yet remains in the hands of the heirs of Pierre Bénelle, his grandson, deceased a short time ago at Amsterdam. Can this manuscript be published?'

"Thus, Bénelle, who died eleven years after Leguat—Bénelle, the very same to whom has been attributed the authorship of Leguat's Adventures, who was not precisely the friend of Leguat, has formally acknowledged that Leguat was undoubtedly the author of that work.

"Any doubt is no longer possible; the French Esquire, Leguat of la Fougère, the chief of the expedition of the *Hirondelle*, the exile of the desert islands Rodriguez and Marianne, is the self-same individual who has published *The Voyages and Adventures of François Leguat and of his Companions.*"

Nevertheless, M. Sauzier's arguments, forcible as they are, will not convince other critics who hold to their opinion that Leguat's MS. was largely mani-

pulated by M. Misson, who not impossibly may have been assisted in the English translation by Ozell.

An abstract of Leguat's narrative was published by M. Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux, in his well-known *History of Mauritius*,[1] compiled from the papers of his father, Baron Grant. He writes:—

"N.B.—As the extract from Le Guat, on the Island of Rodriguez, may perhaps be found long, I think proper to explain my motives on the subject.

"The residence of Le Guat, and his companions in that island being the sole event which furnishes us a sort of historical description, it was necessary to mention it. By attachment to truth and justice, I could not do better than to let the author speak himself; knowing that this manner, which has been adopted by *Anacharsis*, &c., offers more interest to the reader. However, it has cost me more labour than if I had written the whole in my own way; because I have been obliged to correct the style, and to shorten it in every part, which seems to me tedious, prolix, and often of erroneous systems; besides he places Rodriguéz at two hundred leagues from Mauritius, whereas, it is not half, as I make him say. . . . . I wish the knowledge I present of this island may be sufficiently convincing of the advantages which may be reaped from it, that it should no longer remain useless to humanity."

An abbreviated version of Leguat's adventures has lately been published with the annotations of M. Eugène Muller, the Librarian of the Arsenal at Paris, in the series of Voyages brought out by M.

[1] *The History of Mauritius, or the Isle of France, and the neighbouring Islands.* From their first discovery to the present time, composed principally from the papers and memoirs of Baron Grant, who resided twenty years in the island. By his son, Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux. (London, 1801.)

Dreyfous.[1] M. Muller has kindly permitted the Editor of the following reprint to make full use of his notes, many of which have been thus utilised to the great advantage of the members of the Society.

By far the most valuable contribution, however, to the *literary* and bibliographical history of Leguat's work is the lately published *brochure*,[2] by M. Th. Sauzier of the Paris Geographical Society, including the reprint of what is perhaps an *abrégé* of Marquis du Quesne's remarkable pamphlet, till lately only known by the extracts quoted in Leguat's narrative. M. Sauzier's arguments, which are not indisputable, have already been quoted above as proving the authorship and veracity of the philosophic and pious refugee. A translation of du Quesne's original scheme for colonising Réunion was to have been included at the end of this present reprint, but want of space prevents its appearance.

The interest attaching to Leguat's narrative, as before observed, centres (apart from its simple and picturesque originality and charming style in which the touching story of adventure is told) in the important details of the natural history of Rodri-

[1] *Aventures de François Leguat et de ses compagnons en Deux Iles Désertes des Indes Orientales* (1650-1698). Publiées et annotées par Eugène Muller. Paris. Bibliothèque d'Aventures et de Voyages. (Maurice Dreyfous.)

[2] *Un Projet de République à l'Ile d'Eden* (*l'île Bourbon*) *en* 1689, par Le Marquis Henri du Quesne. Réimpression d'un ouvrage disparu, publié en 1689, intitulé Recueil de quelques mémoires servans d'instruction pour l'établissement de l'isle d'Eden. Précédé d'une notice par Th. Sauzier. (Paris, Librairie Ancienne et Moderne de E. Dufossé.)

guez which are contained therein. Before touching on this portion of the work, therefore, a few words on the island of Rodriguez may well find a place.

The small island of Rodriguez, although but a poor dependency of the colony of Mauritius, has considerable interest, both for naturalists and geographers, yet it seldom receives much attention either at home or abroad, and it is only occasionally that the general public hears of its existence. Years ago, however, when the road round the Cape to the East Indies was first opened to navigators, this island was regarded as one of the ports of call, until the colonisation of Mauritius rendered the more important island a safer harbour of refuge, and a better haven for refit and refreshment.

Rodriguez, or Diego Rais, lies about 330 miles to the eastward of Mauritius, of which island it is a dependency, and is the third island of importance in the Mascarene archipelago. It is ten miles long, in an east-north-east and west-south-west direction, and four miles broad, with an area of about forty-three square miles.

An extensive coral reef encircles the island, varying much as to its distance from the shore. At the south-eastern point of the island it is only twenty yards from the shore; from the western end it extends four-and-a-half miles in a southerly, two-and-a-quarter miles in a westerly, and four miles in a northerly direction. The history of the discovery of this island will be found in the Appendix (p. 308), which deals with the earliest voyagers who touched

at the Mascarene Islands. It may be mentioned here, however, that on the 25th of June 1638, the *St. Alexis* of Dieppe, commanded by Captain Alonso Goubert of Dieppe, came up with the island of Diego Ruiz, "lying in twenty degrees of south latitude, about forty leagues from Madagascar," as this was the first French ship that ever visited the Mascarene islands. "We landed," writes François Cauche of Rouen,[1] "and set up the arms of France on the trunk of a tree, our ship keeping out at sea, not being able to anchor by reason of the depth; so that as soon as the King's Arms were fix'd, those who had done it, returned aboard in the boat, as they went."

After the departure of Leguat and his comrades in 1693, some English officers appeared to have stayed for a while and surveyed Port Mathurin in 1706 or 1707; as is stated in a report made by M. de Parat, Governor of Ile Bourbon in 1712 to the Minister of Marine in France, in answer to a request for information as to the capabilities of Rodriguez. Port Mathurin (now designated by this denomination for the first time) was described as being difficult to enter, but available for the anchorage of vessels of thirty guns; and it was further stated that, apart from the quantity of tortoises found there, the island was of no use to the French East India Company.

[1] *A Voyage to Madagascar and the adjacent Islands and Coast of Africk*, by Francis Cauche. English translation of 1710, p. 4, by Capt. Stevens, after the *Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar, etc.*, par Le Sieur Morisot. (Paris, 1657.)

In 1725, says M. d'Avezac, the Government of Bourbon, under the President of Council, M. Desforges Boucher, decided to take possession of Rodriguez in the name of Louis XV, and a vessel was despatched thither, whose officers made a geodetic survey of the island, the original map of which is said still to exist in manuscript at the Dépot of Charts, in the Marine Office at Paris.[1] The curious *Relation de l'Ile Rodrigue*,[2] found by M. Rouillard among the archives of the Ile de France at the Marine Office in Paris, dates from this period, as it follows the Proceedings of the Council, which ordained the project of settling the island of *Diego Ruys*, as Rodriguez was then named; although, on this occasion, M. Th. Sauzier states that the name of Ile Marianne was given by the French visitors to the island.[3] A superintendent and guard were established on the island from this date, as it is mentioned that the guard-house of the French superintendent in the bay of the Ouen Valley was entrusted in the year 1740 to a negro family.

Thirteen years afterwards (1748), Admiral Boscawen, who so boldly led his squadron across the locality, supposed to be occupied by the reefs of Cargados Carayos (see Chart, p. 308), examined the capacity of the roadstead at Rodriguez for the

[1] *Vide* "Note sur l'Ile Rodrigue après le départ de Leguat," par Eugène Muller.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B.

[3] M. Sauzier adds: "*Coincidence bizarre*, this name of the Marianne is still applied to the rock on which Leguat was imprisoned after escaping from Rodriguez."

accommodation of shipping; and it must have been previous to 1756 that a regular establishment was formed for the preservation of turtles to supply the Ile de France and Bourbon with such fresh provision.

"This fishery", wrote Mr. Charles F. Noble[1] (alluding to the sea-turtles), in that year, 1756, "is thought so useful at Mauritius, that they have always a sergeant's party on that little island of Rodriguez, who collect all the fish they can, for the boats that are sent to bring them at certain times, and the ships that generally touched there on their way to Mauritius. There is, also, a particular spot of ground inclosed here, for keeping and breeding land tortoises for the same purposes."

It was in the year 1671, that, on Thursday, 28th of May, the first scientific observer, Abbé Pingré, accompanied by his assistant, M. Thuillier—"un jeune homme tres versé dans la haute géométrie, et initié dans la théorie et dans la pratique de l'astronomie"—set foot on shore in the *isle desirée* of Rodriguez. The expedition had left L'Orient in January, on board the French East India Company's ship *Le Comte d'Argenson*, arriving at Mauritius on the 7th of May, where the news of the capture of Pondicherry had just reached. M. Le Gentil had embarked two months previously at Port Louis for the above-named Indian port, which

[1] *Vide* "Some Remarks made at the French Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, 1755, by Charles F. Noble, to Governor Pigot at Madras." (Dalrymple's *Oriental Repository.*)

he was not destined to enter on this voyage. These scientists had been dispatched by the French Academy, under the auspices of the Cardinal de Luynes and Mons. Le Monier, to observe the transit of Venus on the 6th of June 1761. Pingré sailed from Mauritius on the 9th of May, and was, therefore, three weeks in getting to Rodriguez from Port Louis in the corvette *La Mignonne*, a dead beat to windward, reaching as far south as 28° 30′. The astronomical party remained at Rodriguez until the 8th of September, on which date the *Mignonne* took them back to Mauritius. Pingré's journal has never been published, for its interest was overshadowed by the voluminous quartos of Le Gentil. The astronomical details duly appeared in the *Histoire de l'Académie* (1761, p. 102) and *Mémoires* (1761, pp. 415, 985). Pingré planted his observatory on the traditional site of Leguat's settlement, and it is interesting to note his opinion of our adventurer and the current judgment of contemporary opinion at that period, presumably at Mauritius, as well as in France. For doubtless Pingré, before starting, would have taken an interest in ascertaining all reliable information regarding the small islet where he proposed to take his observations. He writes:

"I made my observations in the 'enfoncement nommé de François Leguat', on the northern side of the island, at the spot marked A on the plan, in 19° 40′ 40″ latitude, and 80° 51′ 30″ long. The name which this locality bears has been given to it in memory of François Leguat, a Bourguignois gentleman who, having left France for the sake of religion, in 1689

betook himself to Holland, where he embarked the following year on the ship *Hirondelle*. He intended, in company with several other French refugees, to found the nursery of a new colony, either at Bourbon Island, which he believed had been abandoned by the French, or at Rodriguez. In fact, they disembarked at Rodriguez, to the number of eight, on the 10th of May 1691; they established their abode in the aforesaid locality, and remained there until the 31st of May 1693, when, tired of their solitude, they abandoned themselves to the sea in a kind of boat which they had constructed for the purpose. A stiff breeze occurred, and was taken by them for a storm; they, nevertheless, arrived safe and sound at Mauritius, on the eighth of the following month. *Les Voyages et Aventures de François Leguat* have been printed in two vols. in 12°, at Amsterdam, in 1708. This work *passe pour un tissu de fables; j'en ay trouvé beaucoup moins que je ne m'y attendois.* We find in the narrative of Leguat a plan of Rodriguez, which does not at all resemble that island. [Compare maps, pp. xvii, 1.] That which I give here is the result of a journey which we have made—M. Thuillier and myself—around the island; we have traversed many times nearly all the northern coast line. As the sight of M. Thuillier is far better than mine, I have let him take nearly all the angles. The triangles which we have formed round the island have been connected with a base which we laid out in our *enfoncement de François Leguat*, and which measures four hundred and eight toises (eight hundred and three yards). . . . ."

The taking of Rodriguez by the English under Captain Kempenfelt prevented the astronomers completing their survey of the island.

We get a glimpse of the little colony from the Abbé's journal. He says :—

"The island of Rodriguez is generally inhabited only by a French officer, who commands a dozen or fifteen blacks, whose principal occupation is to catch the tortoises in the

different parts of the island; they collect these tortoises in a park, and send them to the Isle de France on the corvettes, which they dispatch from time to time for this cargo. These blacks, natives of Madagascar or from India, are, the most part, slaves of the Company; there are, nevertheless, some free men. The work of these is paid for at the price agreed when they are hired. There was, besides, at Rodriguez, when I arrived there, a surgeon and a corporal of the island, both Europeans. The commandant can have with him his family and his slaves, if he has any. Such was the colony of Rodriguez in 1761. When the Governor of the Isle de France sends a corvette to load up with tortoises, he sends at the same time a provision of rice, sufficing for the maintenance of the colony. For its defence, M. de Puvigné had erected on the sea-coast a battery of six pieces of ordnance, two prs.[1] Most of these cannons had belonged to French ships. As Rodriguez is only kept in order to obtain its tortoises one would think it unnecessary to place it in a state of defence. One would hardly imagine that it would enter into the minds of the English to form there a base from which they could attack the Isle of France to more advantage. . . . All those who live at Rodriguez make profession of being Christians; but each one after his own fashion. This one may eat of everything, because the Capuchin priests who instructed him had represented that the distinction of victual customary in his country had resulted from superstition. Another would abstain from eating beef, because his conversion had been effected by the ministry of other missionaries, more accommodating to the opinions of the people. They called these *Paulist-Christians*, being baptised by those who belong to the Church of Saint Paul at Pondicherry. The others were named *Capuchin-Christians*. Public worship at Rodriguez was reduced to ringing the *Angelus* every day, which no one said. Besides, the Commandant insisted on his slaves attending prayers offered by a slave who had never

[1] *I.e.*, two-pounder guns.

been baptised. There was neither church nor chapel, and there had never been anything of that kind there. François Leguat and his companions served God, in their manner, with greater exactitude than has been observed by the Catholics ever since they have been established in this island. There is, nevertheless, at Rodriguez a cemetery, consecrated by some chaplain of a ship, who has wished to leave this monument of the visit of a minister of the true Church to this neglected island. At the same time, I am assured that this neglect ought not to be imputed to the zealous missionaries, who till the ground, otherwise almost uncultivated, of Bourbon, and of the Isle of France. . . . ."

To commemorate the observations of the Transit of Venus expedition under Pingré, Le Monnier proposed placing the *Solitaire* among the southern constellation,[1] " but, being a better astronomer than ornithologist, he, inadvertently," says Dr. Hamel,[2]

[1] This constellation, says Mr. Knobel, is a small one cribbed from Libra and Virgo. The boundaries of it for the present epoch lie between Right ascension 14 hours and 14 hours 40 minutes, and within the paralleis of 15° and 25° of South declination. Devoid of bright stars.

" J'ai observé la plus grande partie de ces Etoiles à mes deux quarts-de-cercles muraux, & la figure de la constellation du *Solitaire* (oiseau des Indes & des Philippines) a été presérvé en mémoire du voyage en l'île Rodrigue, m'ayant été fournu par Mrs. Pingré et Brisson ; voyez le tome ii de l'Ornithologie ; cette constellation sera voisine du Corbeau & de l'Hydre sur nos planisphères & globes célestes." (*Mémoire sur une Nouvelle Constellation*, par M. le Monnier, lû 21 Août 1776; *Mém. de l'Académie Royale*, 1776, p. 562, pl. xvii.)

[2] See Pamphlet by Dr. Hamel, entitled " Der Dodo, die Einsiedler und der erdichtete Nazarvogel", *Bulletin Phys.-math.-Acad.*, St. Petersburg, vol. viii, Nos. 5, 6, 1846. Quoted by Strickland and Melville in their postscript to their monograph on the Dodo, p. 64.

"gave this honour not to the Didine bird of Rodriguez, but to the Solitary Thrush of the Philippines (*Monticola eremita*), figured by Brisson, vol. ii, pl. 28, f. 1, instead of copying Leguat's figure as he might have done."

Kempenfelt surveyed Port Mathurin the same year, by order of Admiral Cornish, who was then cruising about the Mascarene Islands. A landing was effected on the island,[1] but the mortality among the crews of the ships was so excessive that they very soon re-embarked.

In August 1764, the administration of the Mascarene Islands passed into the hands of the King, Louis XV; and in 1768, M. Dumas, the Governor of the Islands, deported M. Rivalz de Saint-Antoine, a member of Council of the Isle of France to Rodriguez, for having protested against the arbitrary proceedings of the military administration. However, the exile of M. de St. Antoine did not exceed a year, after which interval he was released on the recall of M. Dumas to France. For forty years now the little island enjoyed peace and tranquillity; only

1 "Upon the whole, if we consider the little trust that is to be put in slaves, which forms the chief strength of the island, their small force, besides the stony shoar which would render their batteries scarce tenable, and, I may add, the terror of the English arms, it may be presumed, that had our fleet under Admiral Cornish, which cruised off Rodriguez in 1761, been ordered to attack this island [Bourbon], it would have met with an easy conquest, and a very important one, as it may justly be reckoned a very healthy, pleasant, and profitable island." (Dalrymple's *Oriental Repository, loc. cit.*)

the tortoises and turtles suffered deportation to the hospitals of Bourbon and Mauritius; but Abbé Pingré's surmise as to the improbability of the English ever finding the advantage of holding Rodriguez as an entrepôt, from which to organise an attack on Mauritius, was destined to be put to proof most decisively. As a preparatory measure to the project of capturing the Ile de France and the Ile Bonaparte (now Réunion), as the Ile de Bourbon had been then lately renamed, Vice-Admiral Bertie, commanding the Cape naval station, entrusted Captain Rowley[1] with the strict blockade of the Mascarene Islands in 1809; and early in that year a small advanced force of 200 Indian troops, accompanied by 200 of the 56th Foot, under Lieut.-Col. Keating, embarked from Bombay and occupied Rodriguez, on the 4th of August, where a depot was established for the supply of the cruisers blockading the islands, and a small fort was erected. From Rodriguez an expeditionary force of 368 officers and men, with 100 bluejackets and 136 marines from the squadron, proceeded in September to the Ile Bourbon, and captured the insignificant works at St. Paul's, where a landing was effected and the shipping burnt; but the island was not occupied, and Colonel Keating retreated his force to Rodriguez, where preparations were continued for the attack on Mauritius, and the force in the British *place d'armes* at Rodriguez was augmented by 1,700 Europeans and about 1,800 Sepoys. This

[1] Afterwards Admiral Sir J. Rowley.

expedition was detained on the island until the 3rd of July 1810, when another attack was made in force on Bourbon, which was now taken and properly occupied, whilst a closer blockade of Mauritius was effected.

In November, Vice-Admiral Bertie having arrived at Rodriguez, a division of troops from Madras joined the convoy from Bengal, when the united expedition sailed from Rodriguez, under General Abercrombie, whose troops, being landed at Cape Malheureux, accomplished the easy conquest of the Ile de France by the 3rd of December, on which date the capitulation was signed.

Subsequent to the capture of the Mascarene Islands by the British, Rodriguez long remained little heard of and unnoticed by the outside world. The open-boat voyage of François Leguat, which by many had been regarded as an improbable feat of navigation, in spite of the sneer of the Abbé Pingré, has, notwithstanding, been repeated more than once. M. Th. Sauzier records the fact that, about 1825, Captain Doret, who later became a Rear-Admiral and Governor of Réunion, and later a member of the French Senate, left Rodriguez in an open boat, accompanied by a few sailors, and reached Mauritius, where he succeeded in obtaining assistance and rescue for the remainder of the crew of his ship which had been wrecked on the reefs outside the island.

The interest in Rodriguez after the commencement of the present century was felt only by scientific naturalists, who now began to appreciate

the loss sustained by the world through the total destruction and extinction of original fauna and flora in various countries throughout the world.

In Mauritius a Society of Natural History had been formed by Mr. Telfair, Dr. Lyall, and Professor Bojer, on the foundation of an older Société d'Emulation, when Sir Charles Colville was Governor in 1829. In the following year, the secretary of this Society, M. Desjardins, obtained certain bones encrusted with stalagmite, which had been found many years before (about 1789) in one of the caves of Rodriguez; and this find appears to have induced Mr. Telfair to urge Colonel Dawkins and M. Eudes, who were then at Rodriguez, to make further search for the bones of Didine birds. M. Eudes succeeded in digging up in the large cavern various bones, including some of a large kind of bird which no longer existed in the island. A bird of so large a size as that indicated by the bones had never been seen in the island by M. Gory, who had resided there for the last forty years, *i.e.*, since 1790. It may be here remarked that Pingré had remarked with regard to the Solitaire, in 1761, that M. de Puvigné had assured him that these birds were not even then totally extinct, but that they had become extremely rare, and were only to be found in the most inaccessible parts of the island.[1] It would therefore be

[1] "Les solitaires étoient communes à Rodrigue du temps de François Leguat. M. de. Puvigné m'a assuré que la race n'en étoit pas encore détruite, mais ils se sont retirés dans les endroits de l'Isle les plus inaccessibles." (Pingré, *Journal*, MS., fol. 178.)

during the period between 1760-1790 that the final disappearance of the species may have taken place. The next excavations were made by Capt. Kelly, R.N., of H.M.S. *Conway*, at the request of Mr. Cunninghame, in 1845, but the search was unsuccessful. The bones procured by M. Telfair were exhibited by M. Cuvier in Paris, and subsequently compared by Messrs. Strickland and Melville with the remains of the Dodo in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The reconstruction of the ideal skeleton from these fragments showed that the species to which they belonged was unquestionably allied to, though not identical with, the Dodo, and it was rightly assumed that they belonged to the species described and figured by Leguat as the Solitaire. It was also discovered by these eminent naturalists that the points of agreement between these two extinct birds are "*shared in common with the Pigeons, and exist in no other known species of bird*". A triumph of ornithological diagnosis.

The coral reefs round Rodriguez have ever been a source of danger to seamen navigating those seas, especially on the homeward route. In 1843, two vessels were wrecked upon the *Quatre-vingt Brisans* at the S.W. extremity of the island, where the waves break at a great distance from the shore.[1] The

[1] "The *Queen Victoria*, 715 tons, which left Bombay on the 11th March 1843, bound for Liverpool, struck on the south-west reefs, off Rodrigues, during a gale of wind, on the morning of the 7th of April, and became a total wreck. The commander, Captain Black, most of the passengers, and several of the crew were

Queen Victoria and the *Oxford*, East Indiamen, were totally lost ; and Mr. Higgin, of Liverpool, who was a passenger by the former of these ships, during his enforced stay on the island for six weeks, was enabled to make some observations on the natural history of the island, which assisted Mr. Strickland, the President of the Ashmolean Society, and Dr. Melville, his coadjutor, in their magnificent monograph on the Dodo and its kindred, towards their investigation of the structure and habits of the Solitaire, which was named *Pezophaps solitarius;* a smaller species, *Pezophaps minor*, was determined in 1852. In 1859 the *Nassur Sultan*, another East Indian liner, was lost ; and it may be noted as a fact that in each case of wreck the vessel is reported to have struck at fifteen miles S.W., although, from subsequent examination, it has been

saved, but Mr. R. Plunkett, a passenger, and nine seamen were drowned in a hasty attempt to reach the shore. The survivors were hospitably entertained in the island of Rodrigues for thirty-six days, until they obtained a passage to Bourbon, the governor of which place forwarded them to Mauritius." (*Asiatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 662; 1843.)

"At 4, on the morning of 1st September 1843, the East-India packet ship, *Oxford*, Captain Marshall, on her passage from Calcutta to London, while under a press of sail, struck on a ledge of rocks off the island of Rodrigues, and shortly after became a total wreck. The crew and passengers having taken to the boats, were picked up by a Glasgow vessel and landed at Mauritius. The loss of this vessel and of the *Queen Victoria* is attributed to an error in the Admiralty Charts, in which this reef of rocks is laid down as extending only five miles, whereas it extends from fifteen to sixteen miles." (*Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 326 ; 1843-44.)

found that no reefs extend more than five or six miles from land.

It was not until 1864 that Mr. E. Newton, then Auditor-General in Mauritius, visited Rodriguez, and obtained some more bones; and in the two following years a large quantity of bones was obtained by Mr. Jenner, for Mr. Edward Newton, and forwarded to Cambridge, where Professor Alfred Newton, his brother, and himself succeeded in making an admirable, though not altogether perfect, restoration of the skeleton of the long lost Solitaire, the photograph of which appears in the frontispiece. The extraordinary fidelity of Leguat's account of the bird was confirmed in almost every point. The very singular knob on the wing, caused by injuries received in fighting, fully bore out the accuracy of Leguat as to the pugnacity of these most curious birds, which seem to have fought by buffeting with their pinions like pigeons.

When, in the year 1874, the British Government dispatched an expedition to observe the Transit of Venus at Rodriguez, by the request of the Royal Society some naturalists were sent to accompany the astronomers. Dr. Balfour as botanist and geologist, Mr. Gulliver, zoologist, and Mr. Slater, especially deputed to examine the remains of extinct animals in the caves.[1] The results of these investigations were

[1] The *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. 168, 1879, reporting on the collections from Rodriguez, include *The Physical Features of Rodriguez* by Is. B. Balfour, Sc.D.; and

published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. Professor Balfour succeeded in identifying the most characteristic of the plants described by Leguat, and his notes form the most interesting commentary possible on Leguat's faithful delineation of the productions of his island home.

One more ocean voyage of recent date in an open boat deserves recording; and it is to be hoped that it is the last of its kind, for surely the Government will insist on better provision being ensured for this most unfortunate poverty-stricken little colony.

At present the whole budget of the island barely exceeds some five hundred pounds *per annum*, from which the impecuniosity of the dependent islet can be judged.

On the 15th of April 1886, a very severe cyclone struck the island, which lies in the very track of the so-called Mauritius hurricanes, during which a colonial schooner was lost, adding the cost of maintenance of the shipwrecked captain and crew to the debt of the inhabitants. This cyclone, which occasioned the severest hurricane hitherto experienced by those longest in the colony, besides causing great damage to crops and property, was followed by an almost continual drought. The state of

reports of proceedings of the Naturalists, viz.: *Petrology*, by N. S. Maskelyne, F.R.S.; *Botany*, MM. Balfour, Mitten, Crombie, Berkeley, and Dickie; *Zoology*, *Extinct Fauna*, Bone Caves, by Mr. Slater; *Birds*, by Dr. Günther and E. Newton; *Osteology of the Solitaire*, by E. Newton and J. W. Clark; *Reptiles*, by Dr. Günther; *Recent Fauna*, by Dr. Günther, MM. Sharpe, Smith, Miers, Butler, Waterhouse, Grube, Gulliver, Brüggemann, and others.

affairs began to assume a very alarming aspect towards the month of August, when it became evident that the crops would fail. Nor was it a vain surmise. The beans harvest was not one-third of what it had been on previous years; whilst, as regards the sweet potatoes, manioc, and maize, which, with rice, form the staple food of the creoles and Indians, hardly any could be raised. The stock of imported rice in the island being nearly exhausted at the beginning of September, and the ship expected with supplies being late, a meeting of the principal inhabitants was called together at the Town Hall, at which it was resolved that a boat should be sent to Mauritius, distant 330 miles, to ask for immediate relief. The Government pinnace *Victoria*, being then unfit for sea, another private boat, belonging to the Civil Commissioner, was fitted up. The Government pilot, Mr. Vandorous, consented to take charge of the expedition, assisted by Sergeant Aston, and two creoles, Genève and Prudence, all volunteers. The boat left on the 11th of September, and reached Mauritius after a three days' passage, during which they experienced some heavy seas and weather, which made the journey one of some little danger for an open boat. The Government of Mauritius, which was, surely, remiss in not having foreseen and anticipated the scarcity, despatched a tug with 350 bags of rice only for a population of 1,700 souls. This supply was soon exhausted, and it was not until the 21st December that a cargo of 1,000 bags of rice reached poor Rodri-

guez, to be *sold* (at what price, we may ask ?) to the very patient and helpless islanders. "For this act of grace," naïvely adds the magistrate, "the Governor cannot be too much thanked." This adventure of an open boat proceeding 300 miles across the Indian Ocean, in the track of François Leguat's desperate voyage two hundred years before, led in fact to the present republication of his *Relation*, which may well be read again with profit by those who care for true tales of days gone by.

We can hardly conclude better than by quoting the testimony of a learned man of science who has carefully investigated Leguat's narrative, and compared his written description with the materials available after the lapse of two centuries.

"From Leguat's work we find," writes Professor Schlegel, "that he was a man of true refinement and much reading, that he possessed to a high degree the earnestness and piety which characterised the fervent Protestants of the time, and that, by his scientific disposition and imperturbable faith, as well as by his oppression and persecution of several kinds, together with his ripe age, he had obtained that unchangeable calmness of mind with which he felt so happy at Rodriguez that, had he not been compelled, he would have never left that resting-place."

"As to his love of truth, we find the contents of his work corroborated by what he says in his preface: 'La simple Vérité toute nue et la Singularité de nos Avantures sont le corps et l'âme de ma Relation.'"

The simple and pure faith in the Bible inculcated by the Huguenot religion is conspicuous in Leguat's pathetic story. We find the word "*Providence*" on

the first and last pages of his book, and it was this reliance on divine support which upheld his equanimity during long years of trying exile. It will be consolatory to remember that he survived these hardships, so nobly borne, when he was considerably beyond the prime of life, for a period of over another quarter of a century—in a foreign country, certainly, but at all events, during his old age, in security, comfort, and peace.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS MENTIONED OR REFERRED TO.

1506. Island of Stª Apollonia possibly first sighted.
Feb. 9, 1507. Cirne and Stª Apollonia first visited by Diogo Fernandes Pereira.
1509. The name of Don Galopes given to island afterwards known as Rodriguez.
1512. The Mascarene archipelago rediscovered and named by Mascarenhas.
1523. Death of Pope Hadrianus VI.
1527. Mascarenhas and S Apollonia marked on chart of Weimar.
1545. Portuguese settlement on an island south of Madagascar.
1570. Lambarde's account of Queen Mary at Greenwich.
Sept.20,1598. Edict of Nantes. Dutch settle in Stª Apollonia, and Mauritius.
1613. An English ship, the "Pearl," visits S. Apollonia, and Captain Castleton names it "England's Forest".
1630. Stª Apollonia named Ile de la Perle.
1638. François Leguat born. Insurrection of Scotch Covenanters against Government of King Charles.
1639. Dutch settlement formed on Mauritius under Pieter de Goyer, who was succeeded by Adriaan van der Stel.
1643. Pronis takes possession of Mascareigne.
1649. Mascareigne or Bourbon formally taken possession of by Le Bourg under orders of De Flacourt, and the arms of France affixed to a tree.
1650. Maximilian de Jong, Dutch Governor at Mauritius.
1653. De Flacourt erects a pillar on coast of Madagascar.
1659. Adriaan Nieuland, Governor at Mauritius.
1664. King of France concedes Madagascar and Mascarene Islands to French East Indian Company. Dirk Janzsoon Smient, Governor of Mauritius.
1668. George Frederick Wreede, Governor of Mauritius.
1669. Sieur Dubois visits Bourbon.
1671. M. Jacob de la Haye, Viceroy of the Indies, visits Bourbon. Hubert Hugo, Governor of Mauritius.

1674. M. de la Haye revisits Bourbon.
1677. Isaac Lamotius, Governor of Mauritius.
1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
1688. Fort Spielwyk erected at Bantam. First Huguenots leave the Netherlands for South Africa.
1689. Arrival of Huguenots at Cape of Good Hope.
Marquis Henri Du Quesne publishes "Mémoires" on Eden.
Apr. 26, „ King William III issues a declaration inviting French Protestants to England.
Aug. 6, „ François Leguat passes from France into Holland.
„ Equipment of *La Droite*, to which Leguat is appointed Major.
„ *La Droite* and consort, disarmed.
1690. The Frigate *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Anthony Valleau, fitted out.
Leguat and nine companions, the adventurers, embark as passengers.
July 10, „ The *Swallow* leaves Amsterdam.
13, „ Arrival in Texel road.
Sept. 4, „ *Swallow* leaves Texel with convoy of 24 sail, English and Dutch.
18, „ Escape from shipwreck off Schetland Isles.
Oct. 22, „ Arrival at Canary Islands.
29, „ Arrival at Cape de Verde Island.
31, „ Island of Salt.
Nov. 6, „ Leave Salt Island.
20, „ [Revolt of Père Hyacinthe in Bourbon].
Dec. 27, „ Tristan d'Acunha.
Jan. 13, 1691. Sight Robben Island.
26, „ Anchor in Table Bay.
Feb. 13, „ Depart from Cape of Good Hope.
Mar. 15, „ Great storm encountered.
Apr. 3, „ Isle of Eden sighted.
15, „ Death of John Pagni, one of the adventurers.
25, „ Diego Ruys sighted.
May 1, „ Leguat lands on Diego-Rodrigo.
16, „ Capt. Valleau leaves Peter Thomas and takes away Jacques Guiguer and Pierrot, deserts the adventurers.
1692. Roelof Diodati, Governor of Mauritius.
„ Adventurers employed in building a boat.
Apr. 19, 1693. First attempt to leave the island unsuccessful. The boat strikes on a rock.
May 8, „ Death of Isaac Boyer.

May 21, 1693. Re-embarcation of remaining adventurers. Final departure from Rodriguez.
28, ,, A storm encountered.
29, ,, Arrival on a small bay of Isle Maurice.
June ,, Rest at Black River.
July ,, Visit of the Governor to Black River.
Adventurers proceed in their boat to North-West Port.
,, Carry their belongings to Flac, and thence by boat to S.E. port
,, Made prisoners and confined to their hut.
Jan. 15, 1694. Seized by soldiers and put in the *Stombs*.
18, ,, Examined, and put under guard.
Feb. ,, Transported to a rocky islet at entrance of Grand Port.
Mar. 15, ,, Arrival of the Dutch ship, the *Perseverance*.
Oct. ,, Marriage of Governor Diodati. Leguat brought to main land.
Feb. 9, 1695. Tremendous hurricane causes a vast amount of damage.
21, ,, Testard brought ashore in irons and placed in the *Stombs*.
Mar. 8, ,, Leguat and Testard sent back to the rocky islet.
Fire at Fort Fredrik Hendrik.
Arrival of two English ships at North-West Haven.
Jan. 10, 1696. Testard attempts to escape and is drowned.
,, Escape of La Case, and his capture on shore.
,, All the prisoners brought on shore.
Sept. 6, ,, Arrival of the *Suraag*, with orders to take the adventurers to Batavia.
29, ,, Departure from Mauritius.
Dec. 15, ,, Arrival in Batavia. Adventurers put into prison.
16, ,, Examination before the Council.
,, Expedition against Grigriquas by Ensign Schryver.
Feb. 14, 1697. Adventurers detained and enlisted as soldiers.
May 24, ,, Dutch ships wrecked in Table Bay.
Aug. ,, Leguat and companions ordered to prepare for departure to Holland.
Sept. 11, ,, Treaty of Peace, signed at Ryswick, between France, England, Spain, and Holland, ratified by King William at Loo, 15th.
,, Death of the Sieur de la Haye.
Oct. ,, *Placaat* issued by Governor Van der Stel as to trade with Hottentots.
Nov. 28, ,, The Holland fleet of seventeen ships leaves Batavia.
30, ,, Arrival at Bantam.
Dec. 6, ,, Leave Bantam.
17, ,, Leave Straits of Sunda

Jan. 1698. Sight Isle Robben, but driven to sea by a storm.
Feb. 12, „ Anchor in Table Bay.
Mar. 8, „ Leave Table Bay, homeward bound.
Easter Day,„ Arrival at St. Helena.
Apr. 26, „ Leave St. Helena.
May „ Pass near Ascension, do not sight it.
Pass the Line.
June „ Sight coast of Ireland.
Off Dungesby Head, Scotland.
June 28, „ Arrive at Flushing.
1701. Le Sieur Luillier's Voyage.
Mar. 8, 1702. Death of King William III; Accession of Q. Anne.
„ Last elephant killed in Cape flats. Voyage of Macklesfield Frigate.
1705. Abraham Mommer Van de Velde, Governor of Mauritius.
1707. Leguat in England dedicates his book to Duke of Kent.
Oct. 7, 1708. Publication of first edition of Leguat's Voyages. Valentyn's visit to the Cape.
1710. The Dutch evacuate Mauritius.
1715. Dufresne takes possession of Mauritius for the French.
1725. Order in Council to occupy Diego Ruys.
1730. "Relation de l'Ile Rodrigue."
Sept. 1735. François Leguat dies in London.
1760. Pingré at Rodriguez. Kempenfeldt's occupation.
1763. Admiral Stavorinus at Batavia.
1769. Bernardin de St. Pierre in the Ile de France.
1773. M. de Pagés visits the Cape.
1774. Sonnerat visits the Cape.
1810. Mauritius and Bourbon captured by the English.
1814. Bourbon ceded to the French and renamed Ile de la Réunion.
1843. Wreck of the *Queen Victoria* at Rodriguez.
1874. Transit of Venus Expedition.
Sep. 11, 1886. Open boat voyage from Rodriguez to Mauritius.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 5, note 2, *for* "Andrian VI" *read* "Adrian VI".

P. 6, line 16 and note 2. "*Jean Pagni*, thirty Years old, a Convert and Patrician of *Roan*." Add to note, "In the above passage is a curious mistranslation. The original text is:—'*Jean Pagni*, âgé de 30 ans, Proselyte, & Praticien à *Rouen*,' *i.e.*, a Convert and Practitioner (of law) at Rouen."

P. 16, note 1, line 2, *for* "ce font" *read* "ce sont".

P. 21, note 2. *Add*, "Froger and Moore mention the Pelican under this name, saying it is of the size and colour of a Goose. Le Maire describes it as twice as big as a Swan, with a bill a cubit long, and with a craw which lies under its throat like a bag, adding, he swallows fish entire though as large as a middling carp. Cf. Froger's *Voyage au Mer du Sud;* Moore's *Travels into the Inland parts of Africa:* Le Maire's *Voyage to the Canary Isles;* quoted in A new general Collection of Voyages and Travels, by Astley, 1745. Vol. ii, p. 356."

P. 22, note 2. *After* "Eugène Muller", *add* "*op. cit.*, p. 28."

P. 23, note 1. *Add*, "In the Dutch Edition, the taste of the Hollanders has been consulted by substituting for M. Godeau's elegant lines the metrical Dutch version of the well-known verses in the 104th Psalm, beginning at the 24th verse:—'O Lord how manifold are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all. . . . . There go the ships, and there is that Leviathan; whom thou hast made to take his pastime therein.'"

P. 26, note, line 7, *for* "the *Challenger* in 1874" *read* "the *Challenger* touched here in 1874".

Pp. 38-39. Note on *Tramontane, for* "Il ne plus pouvoir", *read* "Il ne plus pouvoit".

P. 39, lines 13, 14. *Add* below, note, "Sweet Odour of Land. M. de Cossigny, who was Governor of the Isle of France in 1791, and (according to Grant) 'a man full of knowledge and philanthropy', states in his *Voyage à Canton* (1799) :—'On approaching the Isle of France, you must keep to windward, because the port, which is frequented by the larger vessels, is to leeward: when the wind is not violent, the air is embalmed with the perfumes of flowers, with which the trees of the island are covered. The same odours are perceived along the island of Ceylon, when the winds blow from the land. This effect was falsely attributed to the cinnamon tree, which forms a part of the forests of this island, as its flowers have a fœtid smell. The effluvia from the land are carried by the winds very far to sea; and sometimes produce very sudden and unexpected effects. I saw one of this kind, which is not very uncommon. A German soldier, a passenger on board of our vessel, about

seven or eight and twenty years old, died suddenly in sight of the little isle of Rodriguez, and about a hundred leagues distant from the Isle of France. He had some slight symptoms of the scurvy, but he was not on the sick-list, nor did he appear to have any unfavourable symptoms.' (Baron Grant's *History of Mauritius*, p. 516.)"

P. 36, line 10, "Idæas of Virgil."[1] *Add* below, in note, "See Virgil's *Æneid*. i, 50 *et seq.*"

P. 45. Quotation ends at "bird" in note 2.

P. 53, line 9, "the Parrots". *Add* note, "In original, 'les Perroquets': *vide infra*, pp. 84, 336, 337, 345."

P. 60. *After* "monsoon", *add* "(more correctly the south-east trade wind)".

P. 65, note 3. *After* "360)." *Dele* from "But" to "small plum". *Insert* "*Vide* Pref., p. xiv."

P. 66, line 14 from top, "South east monsoon" should *read* "South-east Trade wind". Note 1, *dele* "(*vide* note on p. 65)".

P. 70, note 2. *After* "locality", *add* "(*Vide* Gigantic Land Tortoises, by Dr. A. Günther, p. 2)". *Instead of* "supplementary note", *read* "E, *vide infra*, pp. 376, 377".

P. 77. *After* "See Appendix", *add* "C., p. 352 *et seq.*"

P. 78, note 1, "pour faire le moulinet", *add*, "Sir Walter Scott, when describing the bout with quarter staves between the Miller and Gweth at Ashby de-la-Zouche, writes: 'The Miller, on the other hand, holding his quarter-staff by the middle, and making it flourish round his head after the fashion which the French call *faire le moulinet*, exclaimed boastfully.'"

P. 79. *For* "Plate, No. x", *read* "Frontispiece".

P. 80, line 14. "Marriage." *Add* below, note, "*Vide supra*, p. xx."

P. 81, note 3. *After* "*Leguati*", *add* "or *Miserythrus leguati*. Vide *Ency. Brit.*, Art. '*Birds*'."

P. 82, note 5. *After* "Part ii" *add* "Appendix B, pp. 326, 329".

P. 104. *After* "in our text", *add* "*Vide* Preface, p. xiv". *Add* "Note 4. '*Vacoa*. This word is not improbably derived from "*Macarequcau*", the French name of the Pandanus, after the Malay name *má-karhi-keyo*.' Vide *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, vol. ii, Part II, p. 369; Hakluyt edition."

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[1] P. 36. The famous *Idæas of Virgil* on the storm are expressed in that poet's inimitable description in the 1st Book of the *Æneid*. Virgil represents Neptune as possessed of absolute power over all the waters below the firmament, the *imperium pelagi*, which authority had fallen to his share on the death of Saturn. His elder brother Jupiter ruled over all the powers of the air, and Æolus, the ruler of the storm-clouds, was an inferior deity, whose control of the winds was regulated by fixed meteorological laws (*certo fœdere*), and he lets loose the winds, by striking with his spear the volcanic Stromboli only at the order of Juno, *Jovis et soror et conjux*.

DEDICATION OF THE DUTCH EDITION.

TO HEERE CHRISTIAAN BONGART,

DOCTOR AND ADVOCATE OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW.

IT is needless to tell one who habitually finds his amusement in the study of books and in its sweet pleasures, that the acquaintance with reliable and truthful travellers and their memoirs brings with it great enjoyment and utility. I make bold to affirm that this knowledge, however much it may be undervalued by the ignorant, will never sink so low in the eyes of those intent on sensible occupations as to be despised; at least not, when with the useful and the agreeable it brings to light facts hitherto unknown, or when it keeps up the attention by curious yet true revelations. However this may be, I flatter myself not to obtrude in respect of either of these points, and take the liberty of dedicating to you this short Voyage, because the discoveries, unimportant as they may seem at first sight, are sure to attract the attention of geographers, and because the perilous yet happy issues of these people who were nearly lost deserve so much attention and pity, that no one will regret the time spent in reading and investigating them. Even should I be wrong in this respect I shall be content to have testified to the world our intimate friendship and the esteem and respect with which I remain,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. BROEDELET.

Utrecht, *the* 12*th April* 1708.

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[1] "Hitland," in orig.

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[1] *Scheepsraad.* [2] *Reusvogel.*

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[1] Hemelvaarts Eyland.

&c.

A New

VOYAGE

TO THE

EAST-INDIES

BY

FRANCIS LEGUAT

AND

His Companions.

Containing their

ADVENTURES In Two Desart Islands,

And an Account of the most Remarkable Things in *Maurice* Island, *Batavia*, at the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, the Island of *St. Helena*, and other Places in their Way to and from the Desart Isles.

Adorn'd with MAPS and FIGURES

LONDON:

Printed for *R. Bonwicke, W. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin, F. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Manship, F. Nicholson, B. Tooke, R. Parker, and R. Smith.* MDCCVIII.

To the Most Honourable

HENRY,[1]

MARQUESS OF KENT.

Earl of *Harrold*, and Viscount *Goderich*, Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Hereford*, and one of the Lords of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

My Lord,

THE only Excuse the Translator of this Voyage has to make Your Lordship, for presuming to put your Name before it, is that he found it in the Original, and hop'd your Lordship, who has distinguish'd yourself by your Humanity and Love of the Belles lettres, *will be as well pleas'd to see it in an* English, *as in a* French *Dress. The Original, 'tis true, has the advantage of being known to more Nations, and the spreading your Lordship's Fame, was a Justice the Language of our Enemies ow'd to the many high Qualities that have*

[1] Henry Grey, or de Grey, Duke of Kent, succeeded to the title in 1702, and in the third year of Queen Anne was made Lord-Chamberlain of her Household, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Hereford, and a Privy-Councillor. In December 1706 he was created Marquis of Kent, Earl of Harold, and Viscount Goodrich, and in the year 1710, on resigning his office of Lord-Chamberlain, he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Kent. (*The Peerage of England*, 1710, p. 155.)

Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes* (iv, 577), mentions that the Rev. John Laurence dedicated a treatise on the "Usefulness of the Barometer" to him; and the same author mentions him in connection with Roger Cotes, professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy at Cambridge, who was tutor to his sons, Anthony, Earl of Harold, and Lord Henry de Grey. (*Ibid.*, ii, 127.)—Note by E. Delmar Morgan.

plac'd you in one of the first Posts of the British *Empire, and one of the nearest to Her Majesties Sacred Person and Favour. I cou'd not have forgiv'n my self, if any Foreigner shou'd have shewn more Respect for your Lordship than an* English-man, *or if a Traveller in rude and desolate Islands should be more ambitious of your Protection, than one who has had the honour at other times to frequent the delicious Plains of* Parnassus, *a Region that is immediately under your Lordship's Government, and that has visibly flourish'd, since you have condescended to make it a part of your Care, which is otherwise more nobly employ'd for the Service of the best of Princes, and the best of Countries. Let it be said, my Lord; Notwithstanding our unhappy Divisions,*[1] *against which all your Lordship's moderate Councels have vigorously declar'd, and endeavour'd to unite us all in our Duty to Her Majesty, and Peace among our selves; but Division is so natural to Mankind, that who can hope to see an end of it in his Time? We find the solitary Inhabitants of Rodrigo had their Debates and Disputes; and 7 Men united by common Interest, and common Danger, were divided by their Passions.*

May Your Lordship's eminent Worth always meet with the Prosperity it deserves, may it never be wrong'd by Jealousy, nor reach'd by Envy, too Common in this degenerate Age, to the prejudice of the most Heroick Virtue. This my Lord will always be the hearty Prayer of,

Your Lordship's most Humble,
most obedient,
and most Devoted Servant.

[1] This is, apparently, in allusion to the part taken by the Marquess of Kent in the recent Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and to the Tory opposition encountered by the Whig Cabinet of Queen Anne to which he belonged. The Scottish Estates sat for the last time in March 1707, and the Union was effected five months before this dedication was printed.

Maximilian Misson in his preface to the *New Voyage to Italy*,

translated into English by himself, also alludes to the rival factions of Whigs and Tories, a few years later :—"If the Peace has given any Calm to our Isles after the bloody Conflicts they have had with our GREAT neighbour, it has left us involved in such Dissentions and intestine Animosities that they deprive us of an entire Happiness; and these lamentable Misunderstandings seem so to inflame the Minds, that the most moderate Persons can hardly hinder themselves from Listing under one of the Banners of this sad Discord. One is even look'd upon by the Generality of the People as not being in the Fashion when he does not take upon himself, and with Warmth too, one of these factious Names which my Pen declines to set down, of W. or of T." It may be noticed that Misson here speaks of himself as a British subject, alluding to "*our* Isles". In a note he explains the origin of the terms Whig and Tory.

The signature of the anonymous translator is omitted. In the French edition the dedicatory epistle bears the signature of François Leguat, with the date—"Le 7. Octobre, A Londres, 1707." Of course, it differs considerably from the above wording of the English translator, who distinctly avows himself to be an Englishman. In the French edition the author requests that His Highness will be pleased to grant his generous and powerful protection in the most flourishing Island of the world, where good Providence has happily led him, and where, he adds, he shall never cease to offer his wishes for His Highness' abundant and eternal prosperity, etc. It has not been considered necessary to give this letter *in extenso*. The arms, crest, supporters, motto, and heraldic insignia of the Marquess are figured in the French but not in the English version.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.[1]

LET who will say what they please against *Prefaces*, for my part I always read them with Profit. To deprive one's self of so necessary a Thing, is to leave off a good fashion at the peril of Reason and Instruction; He that exposes a Work to the Multitude, brings himself into such great Danger, let his Design be ever so just, and the execution of it ever so perfect, that in Prudence he ought to neglect nothing to prepare the minds of his Readers, and prevent the ill-effects of Ignorance and Malice; But if the Author do's this for his own Advantage, the Readers also in my Opinion benefit by it; for by this he smooths the way for them. He enlightens them, and makes several things easy, in which otherwise they would find a great deal of Difficulty. Be it as it will, I beg the favour of you, courteous and just Reader, to suffer me to Discourse with you a little before you turn to the Relation of my Adventures, which I am about to present to you.

When the Companions of my Fortune and my self embark'd aboard our Ship the "*Swallow*" at *Amsterdam*, abundance of our Friends attended us to the Water-side, and when they took their leave of us, they cry'd as long as they could see us; "*Pray let us hear from you, send us all the News you can, and fill your Letters with the particular Circumstances of your Adventures.*" From that very Minute

[1] According to M. Eyriès, the actual editor and author of Leguat's narrative was an ex-Benedictine monk named Gabillon. *See* note, p. lxxviii, and introduction.

I form'd to myself the design of giving them Satisfaction. But you will find when you have read my History, that my Design could not be executed. After my return, I could neither refuse them the demand they made of seeing my Journal, nor excuse my self from answering a hundred Questions they ask'd concerning things which I had not inserted in it, but which were, however, still in my Memory. I have met no Body ever since who has not been very Inquisitive, and I have endeavour'd to satisfie the curiosity of my Friends to the utmost of my Power. Tho' if I may be so free, I have met with Persons who have been so Importunate, that they became troublesome with their Inquiries.

To save my self answering an infinite number of Questions, and being continually teaz'd by the like importunity, it one day came into my mind that the best way to do it would be to write down a Relation of my Voyage and Adventures, and to shew it to those of my Friends and Acquaintance who desir'd to see it. Accordingly I wrote these *Memoirs*, they were presently seen in the World, and I fancy'd I saw in the looks of those that had read them, when they return'd them, an air of Content, which I took for a very good Omen, and was pleas'd with it. I perceiv'd they interested themselves in every thing that had happen'd to Me, and some of them went so far as to say, '*Print them*,[1] *fear nothing, the Book will be very Entertaining: A Man shou'd be Modest, but not a Coward. There is something in them very extraordinary and singular, with which all the World will be pleas'd. Take your Friends words for it, and publish them.*' Thus did they perswade me. To which they added one thing that weigh'd very much with me, and help'd to overcome the repugnance I had to Print them: which was their naming to me a great number of false Voyages, and some of them ill-enough related, which, however, went

[1] "*Some said, 'John, print it!' others said 'Not so.'*
Some said, 'It might do good,' others said, 'No!'"
(John Bunyan's *Apology*, 1670.)

off. Indeed, said I to my self, there's such a one, and such a one (I can scarce forbear naming fifteen or twenty), such a one, and such a one, have had the Impudence to impose on the Publick, and their ridiculous Falsities have been very well receiv'd. Why therefore is it not lawful for an honest Man to tell things which are true, and of which some use may be made. Wretched Romances, and ill-contriv'd Fables, find a Vent; why may not my true Romance have as favourable a fate?

I expect the Critical Reader shou'd say here, "there's a manner of expressing things": A Story well told, is read with Pleasure, tho' 'tis even a little Romantick or Trivial in its self. People are now more earnest than ever for perfection of Language. As for Example, the little *Nothings* of the Abbot of Choisy[1] in the *Voyage* to *Siam*, have an incomparable Grace in them, and please much more than many other things made of more precious Materials. "*We cast Anchor.*" "*We made ready to Sail.*" "*The Wind took Courage.*" "*Robin is dead.*" "*We said Mass.*" "*We Vomited.*" Tho' they are poor Words any where else, yet in his Book, which is half compos'd of them, they are Sentences, and the worth of them is not to be told. His Phrases are so fine, so pretty, that we should be more in love with them, than with Discoveries. And what then can you hope for, you a Country Gentleman who relate your Affairs *grosso modo*, and speak plainly without gloss or disguise, what you have seen, or what you have heard: You are in the wrong to imagine your History, tho' true, singular, nay even moral, and as political as you please, can enter into Comparison with a Book that is well Written.

[1] *Journal du Voyage de Siam fait en* 1685-86 (*M. l'Abbé Choisy*), par M. L. D. C. 4to. Paris, 1687. Leguat here writes ironically, but his sarcasm is not undeserved; for instance, the "Robin" here referred to is a sheep—"un mouton fameux entre les moutons"—and more than a page is occupied in telling how he was cooked, eaten, and discussed at table.

I own all this, I am no Polite Author, nor indeed any at all. Neither did I ever believe I cou'd ever set up for one, till I was as it were forc'd to give way to Importunity, which lasted five or six years. 'Tis true, and most true, that I am very far from having the Abbot *Choisy's* rare Talent. His Delicacy is without doubt extream. He writes politely, and the fine simplicity of his, "*Easter* approaches": "*His Calm quite flat.*" "*I see nothing but Water.*" "*The same Song.*" "*To tell you nothing is a new Ragou,*" which pleases and Charms, tho' I must indeed own, I have not been able to relish it. Perhaps it may [illegible] too high season'd for me. Simple and naked Truth, a[illegible] the singularity of our Adventures, are the Body [illegible] Soul of my Relation. But since the Prince of *Roman* [illegible]uence[1] has commended *Cæsar* (or the Author of his C[illegible]ntaries) for writing without Artifices or Ornament, I hope I shall also find Men of a moderate Taste, who [illegible]thout lessening the extraordinary value of the Abbot *Choisy's* admirable Simplicity, will readily bear with mine tho' Common.

There's deceit in this Simplicity, so very simple; and 'tis very well known the Inhabitants of the *Republick* of letters, as well as those of the *Friperie,*[2] make use of several sorts of Lights[3]: I know also that a *Latin* Cloak is as Convenient as Venerable, and often proves a great help to such as have nothing to say, and yet would raise Admiration; and that the politeness of a gay gallant Stile, and the Convenience of *Rimes* are a good cover for many Authors: *Juvenal* and *Boileau* are in the Right to rail at whom they please, as long

[1] This Prince of Roman eloquence was Cicero, who wrote as follows: "Cæsar has likewise some commentaries or short memoirs of his own transactions, and such as merit the highest approbation; for they are simple, correct, and elegant, and divested of all the ornaments of language, so as to appear (if I may be allowed the expression) in a kind of undress." (Cicero, *in Bruto*, c. 74.)

[2] "A Place in Paris where Second-hand and other Cloaths are sold."

[3] In orig.: "lustres," *i.e.*, glass or polish.

as they rail in Verse; and the most Scoundrel *Rimers* find also their Account in their Songs and Lampoons. If my Voyage was written in *Hebrew*, I am very well assur'd it wou'd at least succeed as well as that of *Rabbi Benjamin*[1] And if it was only in *Latin* interlarded with *Greek, à la Montfauconne*,[2] with a word or two of *Arabick* to relish it a little, I should without doubt have at least Admirers, if I wanted *Readers*. For who with impunity, and even with Success, would publish a hundred useless sorts of insipid Literature, a hundred Copies of things that have been said again and again by others, a hundred Lyes and Invectives? if they had not been in *Latin*, or in *Verse*, they wou'd never have gone off as they did.

There's a certain Reverend Father[3] of our Acquaintance whose Book is full of Faults, of things ill Chosen, of shocking Repetitions, of Trifles, of Pedantick Insolence, of Injurious and ill-grounded Contradictions; but then 'tis all in *Latin*. This Learned Doctor endeavours to give the World a Relation of his Voyage, in imitation of Father *Mabillon*,[4] whose Scholar he is; and whose Novelty consisting

[1] Rabbi Benjamin, the son of Jonas of Tudela. Travels through Europe, Asia, from Spain to China, 1160-73. From the Latin of Montanus; *vide* Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, vol. ii.

[2] Dom. Bernard de Montfaucon, a distinguished *savant* and Greek scholar, who after taking part in two campaigns under Turenne became a monk of Saint-Benoît at Toulouse in 1675. He died, aged 87 years, in 1741.

[3] According to Bernard this author was Casimir Freschot, the anonymous author of *Remarques Historiques et Critiques, etc.*, but the context further on appears to refer to Mabillon or Montfaucon.

[4] Jean Mabillon was a learned writer and Benedictine monk of the Congregation of St. Maur, born in 1632, a few years senior therefore to Leguat. Mabillon visited the principal Libraries of Italy in 1685 with Michel Germain, and brought back 3,000 volumes and manuscripts for the King's Library. He published an account of his travels, and published the *Musæum Italicum* and many works of deep research. He died, aged 75 years, in 1707. (Weiss, *Biographie Universelle.*)

wholly in Catalogues of *Bulls* and *Decretals*, and of other Species of base allays, which have been a hundred times examined, and a hundred times confuted with a Manuscript of poor *Vacca*,[1] which till now was despis'd by every Body: What cou'd he do? He cou'd write tolerably in *Latin*, add Rhapsodies to his Trifles, and give them a *Latin* Pass-port, and a *Latin* Dress.

But had he not done better if he had written in his own Tongue Judiciously, Civilly, Wisely, and Briefly? Or rather if he had not written at all. What had the *Turba Eruditorum*,[2] which he explains so ill, and yet with so much Pomp and Variety, to do with his Journal? There's but very little in it that deserves to be publish'd; and that that

[1] "I have borrowed much, and that not contemptible, from Writers I lighted on, that have not been made publick, the chiefest whereof is *Flaminius Vacca*, a *Roman* Carver. This Man collected many Observations of his own and Friends on *Roman* Monuments found in his Time, and before it, and presented them to Anastasius Simonetta of *Perugino*, who was compiling a very accurate Work of the *Roman* Antiquities.

"*Flaminius*' Observations being in no Order, but intermixed as they happened to occur . . . . I thought fit to translate his Papers. . . *Flaminius* was a noble *Roman* Carver, whose Skill is visible in many Works to be seen in *Roman* Churches and Homes. He flourish'd in the sixteenth Century and seems to have lived to the seventeenth. His Tomb is to be seen in the Church of *Santa Maria Rotunda*." (*The Travels of the learned Father Montfaucon from Paris thro' Italy*, 1698. Made Engli-h. London, 1712, p. 111.)

[2] "This is the place where I design'd to entertain my Reader for some Time, with certain Passages of the Relation that *D. Bernard de Montfaucon* (a Benedictine Monk) has published of his Travels in Italy, under the Title of *Diarium, etc.* But since he makes a Show of a Dissertation, with a Sort of Ostentation to the Eyes of the *Turba Eruditorum*, whom he pretends to inform, after a decisive Manner, concerning the famous Manuscript which is kept so preciously in the Treasury of *St. Mark*." (Max. Misson, Pref., *Voyage to Italy*.)

". . . And as I have formerly applied myself with Care to search after those things which have been the Occasion of his Publishing a Volume by the Title of *Palæographia Græca, etc.* . . ." (*Ibid.*)

is, may be found in Mess. *Trevoux*[1] and elsewhere. Who is concern'd in his *German* Quarrel,[2] and his Chimerical Triumph about *St. Mark's* Gospel,[3] being written in *Latin* with the Apostles own Hand. If this Fantastick Monk had told his Reasons modestly; if he had not with as much Rudeness as Injustice, offended those who never thought anything of him, good or ill, and who are in a condition to Chastize when they think fit, he had been more Excusable.

As for Me then, I write in *French*,[4] and in plain *French*, not aspiring to any higher degree of beauty of Stile, than what is necessary to be understood, nor to any Supernatural Language. I must desire the Reader to remember, that it

[1] "Without retracting what I have just now said of the *Journal of Trevoux*, the *Reverend Fathers* that compose it, will give me Leave to make some Reflections here upon their Article of Tome IV. . . . . This Journal is now (1714) made at Paris by some learned Jesuites under the Title of *Histoire des Sciences & des beaux Arts*." (Maximilien Misson's Preface to fourth edition, *New Voyage to Italy*.)

[2] Mabillon's Quérelle d'Allemande—his dispute with Père Germain as to the rules of criticism as applied to the authenticity of manuscript characters may perhaps here be alluded to.

[3] "Hence we proceeded to see the Manuscript of the Gospel of *St. Mark*, which is kept in a Cupboard hard by, and we viewed it to Content with D. *Leith* or *Galterius*, the Library Keeper. . . . The characters, tho' scarce legible, are infallibly *Latin*. . . . It is generally said to be *St. Mark's* writing. I do not remember to have ever seen any Manuscript that seems to be of greater Antiquity than this. But that this Book is writ in *Latin* is plainly made out by the story I shall now relate. . . . The letter of Emperor Charles the IVth will inform you that he received from the Patriarchal Church of *Aquileia* two Quires of the Holy Gospel of *St. Mark*, written with his own Hand, which are in this Cathedral." . . . (Montfaucon's *Journey through Italy*, pp. 73-75.)

[4] "As for their Quotations from the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, which several offer to introduce in great Numbers, into their Writings, there are but very few of them to be found in these *Letters*." (M. Misson, *l. c.*)

"As I am far from having a perfect Knowledge of the *English* Tongue. . . ." (*Ibid.*)

cannot be expected that a Desart Island should furnish me with such ample Matter, as Travellers commonly meet with in the inhabited Countries which they Visit. I found neither Cities nor Temples, nor Palaces, nor Cabinets of Rarities, nor Antique Monuments, nor Academies, nor Libraries, nor People, on whose Religion, Language, Government, Manners and Customs, I might make Observations. I have said already, and I say it again, that all that can make this small Treatise, which I have been encourag'd to present you with, any way valuable, is in the first place, the particularity and variety of the Facts and Adventures. To dwell two years in a Desart; to be sav'd by a Miracle; to fall from *Charybdis upon Scylla*,[1] as the ancient Proverb says; to suffer a thousand Miseries for three years together on a dry Rock, by an unheard of Persecution; to be deliver'd contrary to Appearance and Hope, and with such strange Circumstances, must certainly have something very Singular in it. What is Secondly valuable in this Relation, is the pure and simple truth of all I have related. It never enter'd into my Thoughts to adorn my History, to exaggerate any thing at the expence of that Truth, which I have always Respected. And I will add for your Satisfaction, that there are living[2] Witnesses of every thing I have reported. Among the things which those that have Travell'd last in the Countries that are known and describ'd, report, 'tis unavoidable but there must be something which the first Travellers make no mention of; Be it as it will with respect to my self, when I talk of the Cape of *Good Hope*, *Batavia*, and other Places treated of in other Voyages, I speak of those things that I thought worth observing, without troubling myself whether others have made any mention

[1] "*Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*" (*Alexandreis*, lib. v, 301, by Philippe Gaultier. 13th century.)

[2] In orig.: "deux Témoins," *i.e.*, MM. Paul Bénelle, at Amsterdam, and Jacques de La Case, in America. (*Vide ante*, p. xxxiii, *et post*, p. 392.)

of them before me or not.[1] If on those occasions I make some Remarks which have not entirely the grace of Novelty, it will be some amends for that Deficiency, that they will doubtless be accompany'd with new Circumstances: For when did it happen that Men who are not *Copyists*, but Eye-witnesses and Judges of things, spoke of the same Subject in the same manner?

I shall conclude with making some Reflection on three Difficulties that have been started to me. For, Dear Reader, I will dissemble nothing with you, nor neglect anything to satisfie you.

I. 'Tis said I have too many Digressions.

Upon this I desire you to consider two things, I confess that in writing these *Memoirs*, the same thought came often into my Head, as it did in the Abbot of *Choisy's*, of whom we have more than once spoken. *I am sorry* (says he from time to time) *that the Matter did not present it self as I would have had it—I give what I have—I wish I had something more pleasant to tell you.* The truth is, I frequently find my self in the same case; My Desart Islands did not furnish me with variety enough, and I confess I was sometimes oblig'd to go a little out of the way for it.

Nevertheless if you do me Justice, I hope you will approve of the second Answer that I have to make. The true character of a good Relation, in my Opinion consists in containing the Remarkable things which the Traveller saw or heard, or which happen'd to him, and in such a manner, that the Reader may be as well inform'd of it, as if he had Travell'd himself, and had been an Eye-Witness of all that had happen'd. Granting this to be true, the Traveller ought to Communicate every thing that came to his Knowledge; his Conversations, Discourses, Adventures, Reflections, pro-

[1] For example, Leguat follows very closely Dapper's previous description of the Hottentots. (*Vide infra*, p. 289.)

vided they have so much relation to the Voyage, that they cou'd not be learnt without it. On the contrary, the best and most agreeable thought will come in very *Mal à propos*, in a Relation of this Nature, if 'tis not, as one may say born in the Voyage, and do's not properly and independently belong to it. Pursuant to this Idea, I might report at length, and keep still in my character of a Traveller, all the long Discourse upon the Subject of Women: All that is taken out of the *Golden Sentences*, all that is said on the Rights of Mankind, and almost every thing else which I have spoken of, that seems to go from the Subject.

II. Some advis'd me to put my Name to those *Memoirs* and others were of Opinion that I shou'd not do it. The latter grounded theirs on a Principle of Humility or Modesty, as the thing explains it self: And the former pretend that every Man who affirms Fact, is obliged to make himself known.

I am entirely of their Sentiments. I believe that whoever speaks as a Witness, ought, as we say in *French*, to decline[1] his Name, and to omit nothing that may serve to convince the Reader of his Candour, and the most exact truth of all he says. As to my self in particular, I own I never had any Opinion at all of a Voyage, without the Authors Name to it; nor even of the Relation of a Voyager of an indifferent Reputation, tho' he puts his Name to his Work, if he do's not also produce Witnesses, especially if he comes from a far Country. Who do's not know the Disposition of all Men? A Traveller of an ordinary Character for Fidelity, and one who has no Witnesses to prove what he affirms to be true, is under a great Temptation when he conceals his Name to lace his History a little, to render it the more agreeable. And we have so many proofs of this Truth, that no body can doubt of its being true.

[1] In orig.: "décliner," *i.e.*, to state.

I therefore conclude again, that those who tell the World any thing that is Rare, and that they saw in very remote Countries, are under an indispensable necessity to let the Publick know clearly, and distinctly who they are, and even to insinuate without Affectation, all the Particularities which are proper to acquire Credit. From whence it naturally follows, that the Authors of Relations which have no Name to them, are almost always Rogues and Cheats who impose on the Publick, and generally propose some base end to themselves by it.

Such a one most certainly is the Author[1] of a Wretched Book that appeared two years agoe, under the Title of *Historical and Critical Remarks, made in a Journal from Italy to Holland, in the year* 1704. *Containing the Manners of Carniola.* This Impudent Anonymous Author, whom we know, and who forg'd his Collection of Fables according to his common Practice, had no other view, besides a little vile and shameful Profit; but to insult against all the rules of Justice, a Person[2] whom he ought to Honour, and one who has spar'd him too long; 'tis fit sometimes that certain Rascalls should have a mark set upon them, and that the World should know their Villainous Tricks, of which there are very few Persons that wou'd be sensible, if they were not told them.[3]

III. It has also been said to me, when I was once like to die of a cruel Scurvy, at another time persecuted by an Army of Rats; when I have been expos'd to the fury of the Tempests and Hurricanes, or have been the Sport of a little Tyrant; 'Why did you engage yourself in such an Enterprise? did not you know that there is nothing more uncertain, nor

[1] Casimir Freschot. (*Vide supra*, p. xxviii.)
[2] Max. Misson. (*Vide supra*, pp. xxviii, xxxi.)
[3] The whole of this paragraph betrays the hand of Misson.

more difficult, than Settlements in the New World, notwithstanding the fine Colours in which the particular Interests of some Persons will have them Painted? Cou'd you be ignorant of the great Labour, and the great Danger that attend the execution of such Projects as these?'

In a word, My Reason was this: After having been forc'd to leave my Native Country, with so many Thousands of my Brethren, to abandon my small Inheritance, and to forsake for ever, according to all outward appearance, those Persons that were dear to me, without finding in the New Country, to which I first Transported my self, that sufficient Relief which my present Necessity demanded, I gave my self up entirely to Providence, and determin'd humbly and patiently to make use of the Means that offer'd for me, perhaps to preserve my Life. Weary of the bustle of the World, and fatigu'd with the Troubles I had endur'd in it, I quitted Variety and Tumult without any regret, and at an Age already advanc'd beyond its Prime, I thought I wou'd endeavour to live in a Place where I might be free from the common and frequent Dangers to which I was expos'd. I had nothing to lose, and therefore risk'd nothing, tho' I had a great deal to hope, at least that I might find that delicious Repose which I never knew; but for the two years that I remain'd in the Desart Island, where I had without doubt finish'd my Course, if the wicked man[1] who carry'd us thither had not betray'd us, and ruin'd the Design that had been form'd in Holland.

After all, I breath'd an admirable Air there, without the least alteration of my Health. I liv'd like a Prince at ease, and in abundance without Bread, and without Servants. I had there been Rich without Diamonds, and without Gold as well as without Ambition. I had tasted a secret and

[1] Captain Vallcan.

exquisite Pleasure, and content in being deliver'd from an infinity of Temptations to Sin, to which Men are liable in other Places. Collected in my self, I had seen there by serious Reflection, as plain as if it was within reach of my Hand or Eye; what *Nothings* the Inhabitants of this wretched World admire; of this World, I say, where Art almost always destroys[1] Nature under pretence of adorning it; Where Artifice worse than Art, Hypocrisy, Fraud, Superstition and Rapine exercise a Tyrannical Empire over Mankind; where in short, every thing is Error, Vanity, Disorder, Corruption, Malice and Misery.[2]

I cannot help adding here by way of Advance, that whatever inconveniences might have attended a longer stay in this Island, I had never left it, had I not been forc'd to do it: And nothing but the boisterous Humour, the wild Precipitation, and the rash attempt of Seven, in *that*, Inconsiderate young Men, cou'd have constrain'd me to have abandon'd that sweet Abode.

What do I say,—No, 'twas not Man but Providence that conducted me thither, and that brought me thence. 'Twas

[1] "Too nicely Jonson knew the critic's part,
Nature in him was almost lost in Art." (*W. Collins*, 1750.)

[2] "These few lines suffice, we believe," writes M. Eugène Muller, "to characterise the author and the principal hero of the narrative about to be related. We here recognise one of those pure but rigid individualities which have so often been engendered by the pious spirit of enquiry amidst the fires of intolerant persecution." "François Leguat personifies in all his austerity, imposing yet simple, those puritans of France, who, obliged by conviction to profess the primitive faith, openly repudiate with energy all practices both civil and religious, which according to their ideas are incompatible with ancient Christian simplicity. Absolutely humble before God, and full of charity towards their neighbours, they do not regard as vain the examples of putting away all vanities given by the Divine Saviour; but freed by the renouncement of the world, they obtain from the divine revelation the great precept of human equality. A strange and bizarre type, and we cannot help adding, not without a semblance of the ridiculous."

Providence that conducted me safely thro' so many Dangers, and has happily transported me from my Desart Isles, to this vast Powerful and Glorious Island of *Great Britain*, where the charity of the Generous Inhabitants has held out its Hand to me, and fix'd my Repose as much as it can be fix'd in this lower World.[1]

[1] This preface, according to Jacques Bernard, the successor of Bayle, was not written by Leguat, but by Maximilien Misson. See Introduction and Notice by M. Th. Sauzier therein quoted.

Frédéric Auguste Gabillon, to whom President Bouhier (quoted by M. Eyriès) attributes this volume, was born at Paris in the 17th century. After completing his studies, he joined the religious order of the *Theatins*, but soon repenting of the sacrifice of his liberty, he left their convent and fled to Holland, where he shortly after openly abjured his vows and professed the reformed religion. Being without resources, he worked at compilations for booksellers, but getting into debt, he went over to England, and took the name of Jean Léclerc, a well-known publicist of Holland, thereby imposing on various persons of distinction. The end of the adventurer's career is not very certain according to Moréri's Dictionary. It is, therefore, possible that this refugee was employed by Leguat as an amanuensis or copyist, but there is little doubt that M. Bernard was right, and the President Bouhier wrong in his surmise. Let the reader only compare Leguat's preface with that of Misson's *New Voyage to Italy* (fourth edition), and he cannot fail to be convinced of the identity of the original author. Take, for instance, the first paragraph as to the uses of Prefaces in general. Misson begins:—"Joseph Pamelius, an Ingenious Man, has composed some Dialogues, in one of which he declaims mightily against* Prefaces in general; but particularly against those who make 'em. . . . . ." This opening, the tirade against false Voyages, and his excuses for publishing his book, have a most wonderful similarity of language and reasoning with the earlier portions of the preface to Leguat's book.

* That is to say: *Prefaces are useless to those only who never read 'em; and are resolv'd to stand fast in their Reproaches and Prejudices. It is in vain to speak to the Deaf or write to the Blind.*

CARTE de L'ISLE de DIEGO RUYS, ou DIEGO RODRIGO;

Découverte par les Portugais,
sous le Roi JEAN III. en 1545.
Et depuis habitée pendant l'espace de deux
Ans & 10 jours,
par FRANÇOIS LEGUAT, PAUL BE...LE,
Cap. DELA CASE, JEAN TESTARD, ISAAC BOYER,
JEAN DE LA HAYE, ROBERT ANSELIN, & PI.
THOMAS, François Protestans, Fugitifs pour
cause de RELIGION, & qui s'embarquerent le 30 Avr. 1691
pour l'Isle Maurice, de où ils partirent le 10 May 1693.

MER DE MADAGASCAR

THE

VOYAGE AND ADVENTURES

OF

FRANCIS LEGUAT,

A GENTLEMAN OF BRESSE.[1]

THE State of the Affairs of Religion in *France*, obliging me to seek after some means to leave the Kingdom, I made use of that which Providence furnish'd me with, to pass into *Holland*, where I arriv'd the 6th of *August* 1689.

I had scarce begun to taste the Sweetness of that precious Liberty, which I found in my abode there, and which I had been depriv'd of four whole years, ever since the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*[2] in 1685, when I understood that the

[1] François Leguat, of the Province of Bourgogne, brought up in the Province of Bresse, a small district now represented by the department of Ain.

[2] The Edict of Nantes, which put a temporary end to the religious struggles in France, and assured liberty of belief and safety in worship to the Calvinists, was decreed in 1598.

Louis XIV, under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, having determined for political reasons to re-establish the unity of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions, proceeded by all the means in his power, moral and physical, by cruel persecution, and especially by what were known as *dragonnades*, to enforce his arbitrary acts of despotism; and finally revoked the Edict of Nantes, eighty-seven years after its original promulgation.

In spite of rigorous prohibitions against emigration, numerous Protestants followed their pastors into exile, and sought in other countries that freedom of conscience denied to them at home. It has been calculated that at least some three hundred thousand Huguenots passed across the frontiers and left France, so that some provinces were deprived of nearly a third of their inhabitants, and many French industries were seriously injured.

Holland, England, and Prussia were the countries which were most benefited by this wholesale emigration, and in fact, at London, a whole suburb (Spitalfields) was peopled by the foreign weavers; whilst at

Marquis *du Quesne*[1] was by the good Pleasure, and under the Protection of my Lords the *States General*, and Messieurs the Directors of the *East India* Company, making Preparations for a Settlement in the Island of *Mascaregne*. To this Purpose two great Ships were equipp'd at *Amsterdam*, *aboard* which all the French Protestants, who were willing to be of this Colony, were receiv'd *gratis*. The Description of this Island,[2] which was made publick at that time, and the name

Berlin several industries were first established by the Protestant fugitives. More than twelve thousand soldiers and six hundred officers carried to foreign flags an implacable resentment and sentiments of vengeance against their mother-country.

[1] "Henry and Abraham, the two sons of the great Duquesne, both Protestants like their father, the most remarkable of naval commanders in France during the seventeenth century; and, having already distinguished themselves under his command, they were, like him, excepted from the rigours of the law pronounced against their co-religionists at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. On the death of their father, in 1688, being given to understand that they would be subjected to persecution, they quitted France. Anticipating the persecutions to which the Calvinists would be subjected, and uneasy as regards the future of his children, he resolved to prepare a safe refuge for them by purchasing the property of Aubonne, near Berne, of which municipality the burgesses granted him the freedom. On hearing of this, Louis XIV asked him his reason for so doing. "Sire," said he, "I have been desirous of securing a property of which I cannot be deprived by the will of a master." It was to this estate of Aubonne that his sons retired; but, previous to his death, he made them swear that, whatever happened, they should never take up arms against France: an oath which they scrupulously kept. Henri Duquesne, the elder of the two brothers, promoter of the expedition which Leguat here mentions, and which was rendered abortive, never more went to sea, but gave himself up entirely to theological studies, and, in 1718, he published a volume, entitled *Réflexions sur l'Eucharistie*. The nephew Duquesne Guiton, with a Dutch squadron, made an expedition to the East Indies, of which the journal was published in 1721." (*Eugène Muller.*)

[2] *Recuil de Quelques Mémoires servans d'Instruction pour l'Etablissement de l'Isle d'Eden. A Amsterdam.* M.DC.LXXXIX. (*See* Introduction, and Appendix at end of volume.) M. Muller believed all trace of this rare document had been lost; he has since found a copy in the Library of the Arsenal, and another copy has lately been reprinted by M. Sauzier.

of *Eden*[1] that was given it on account of its Excellency, made me conceive so good an Opinion of it that I was tempted to give it a Visit, resolving to end my Days there in Peace, and out of the Care and Confusion of the World, if I found 'twas but in some measure so Pleasant and Commodious as 'twas describ'd to be.

'Twas so easie for a Man to enter himself in this Colony; and the Idea I had of the Quiet and Pleasure I hop'd to enjoy in this lovely Island was such, that I got over all the Obstacles which lay in my way. I offer'd myself to the Gentlemen who were concerned in the Enterprize. They receiv'd me very favourably, and honour'd me with the Post,

[1] The island in the Indian Ocean, now known as *Réunion*, the largest of the Mascarene Islands, was first named *St. Appollonia* as early as 1527. It was subsequently called *England's Forest* by the British, and *Mascaregne* by the French in 1613. In 1630 we find it written of as *Ile de la Perle*. M. de Flacourt gave it the name of *Bourbon* in 1649, since which date various names have at different times been applied to it, such as *Eden*, as in the narrative of M. du Quesne; *Ile Bonaparte*, under the first Republic and Empire; and finally the present name, *Réunion*.

On the return of M. de la Haye, the viceroy of the Indies, to France, in 1674-75, he advised the French king to send out an expedition with proper officials to take possession of the Island of Bourbon, as it was then called. Accordingly, M. de Vauboulon was despatched there by the Government with a suitable escort, and appointed Governor for the King and the Company (*French East Indian Company*), and Chief Justice of the Island of Bourbon.

M. de Vauboulon took with him a certain Capuchin monk of Quimper, as chaplain, and appointed him Curé of St. Paul. Whether Governor de Vauboulon abused the powers confided in him or not does not clearly appear from the records, but, judging from the conduct of the Dutch Governor of the neighbouring island, the probabilities are that he did; for, anyhow, a revolution took place on the 20th December 1690, when the rebels, headed by Père Hyacinthe, the Capuchin, deposed M. de Vauboulon, and kept him in prison until he died in confinement at St. Denis, in August 1692, the Sieur Firelin being installed as Commissioner for the Company by the Curé, who, having accomplished his *coup d'état*, retired to his parish at St. Paul.

or rather Name, of Major of the biggest of the two Ships, which was call'd *La Droite*.

All Things necessary being aboard, and the Masters ready to set sail, waiting only for a fair Wind, we understood that the French King, who had formerly taken Possession of this Isle, had sent a Squadron of seven Men of War that way. The Uncertainty we were in of the Design of that little Fleet, and a just Fear grounded on some advices lately come from *France*, were such powerful Motives with Mr. *du Quesne*,[1] that he disarm'd the two Ships, and disembark'd the Goods and Necessaries, being afraid to expose so many poor Wretches, who were already miserable enough, to Danger; the greatest part of them being Women, and other Persons who cou'd not defend themselves. But that he might fully inform himself of the Design of that Squadron, if there was such a one, he resolv'd to set out a little Frigat, and send her away upon Discovery. Some Persons were chosen to go aboard her, and they had Orders given them concerning the design of the *Voyage*: The substance of which was:

1. To visit the Islands that lie in the Way to the *Cape of good Hope*; particularly, those of *Martin Vas*, and *Tristan*.
2. Afterwards to pass the *Cape of good Hope*, to learn, if it was possible, more certain News of the Isle of *Eden*, and the Design of the French Squadron, which was said to be at Sea.
3. To take Possession of the Isle of *Mascaregne*, in the Name of the said Marquis, who was authoriz'd to enter upon it, in case there were no *French* there.
4. If it cou'd be done without running any considerable Risk, to proceed as far as the Island of *Diego Ruys*, which the French call *Rodrigue*.

[1] The great Duquesne had made his children swear not to take up arms against France, and, therefore, his son wished to prevent the possibility of any aggressive action on the part of the Dutch vessels.

5. If that Island was found to be sufficiently provided with Things necessary for Settlement, and the Subsistance of those that would live there, then to take Possession of it, in the Name of the said Marquis.
6. To send the Ship back, after unloading the Things that were for the use of the Colony, that intended to settle in this new World.
7. And lastly, to take an exact Account of the Isle, where those that were left behind staid in expectation of the rest of the Colony, who were to come after, in two Years Time at Farthest, and then to possess themselves of the Isle of *Eden*, under the Protection, and by the Assistance of *Messieurs* of the Company.

This Project[1] being thus form'd, all Hands were set to work to forward the Execution of it; and 'twas done with so much Warmth and Expedition, that the Ship was soon ready to put to Sea. Care was taken to provide every Thing necessary for such an Enterprise; and the Vessel was so little, and so good a Sailer, that she was nam'd the *Swallow*. Her Flag had Mons. *du Quesne*'s Arms in it, with this Device, "*Libertas sine Licentia*"; which was us'd by that wise Pope Adrian VI.[2] Our little Frigate was mounted with six Guns, and had ten Seamen, commanded by *Anthony Vallean*, of the Isle of *Rhe*. When 'twas ready to sail, several of the Passengers, whose Names had been enroll'd for this Service, shrunk back and chang'd their Opinion; which was the occasion of the small Number that embark'd; for the first Complement that design'd to go in her were five

[1] This project is fully described in despatches in the Cape archives.

[2] "They never fail at *Utrecht*, to shew Strangers the House of Pope Audrian VI. Son of one nam'd *Florent Bagen*, a Brewer in that City; and I think, the best Man that ever bore the Name of Pope. . . . . However, though *Adrian* oppos'd *Luther*, several Bigots of that *Catholick* Religion believ'd they had found out that he favour'd him."—(Maximilian Misson, *New Voyage to Italy*, vol. i, pp. 66-67). Hadrianus VI, died 1523.

and twenty. The Ten who continu'd in their Resolution to the last were:

Paul Be—le,[1] twenty Years old, a Merchant's son of *Metz*.

Jacques de la Case, thirty Years old, a Merchant's Son of *Nerac*, who had been an Officer in the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Army.

Jean Testard, a Druggist, twenty-six Years old, a Merchant's Son of *St. Quintin* in *Picardy*.

Isaac Boyer, a Merchant, about twenty-seven Years old, Son of an Apothecary near *Nerac*.

Jean de la Haye, a Silversmith of Roan, twenty-three Years old.

Jacques Guignet, twenty Years old, a Merchant's Son of *Lyons*.

Jean Pagni,[2] thirty Years old, a Convert and Patrician of *Rome*.

Edouard Anselin, eighteen Years old, a Miller's Son of *Picardy*.

Pierre, twelve Years old, of *Roan*.

And *Francis Leguat*, Esq., above fifty Years of Age, of the Province of Burgundy, who was put over the rest.

Tho' it cou'd not but be a very great Trouble to us to see our selves depriv'd of fifteen of our Companions, when we least expected it, and look'd on them as Persons destin'd to the same Fortune as we were, who perhaps might be a Comfort and Help to us: Yet we cheerfully resign'd our selves into the Hands of Providence, and parted from *Amsterdam* the 10th of *July* 1690. The 13th we arriv'd in *Texel* Road, where we lay till the fourth of *September* following. We then set Sail, in company of 24 Ships, *English* and *Dutch*. We bent our Course Northward, by favour of an East South-

[1] *Paul Boudle* (or *Beaudle*, according to M. Muller).

[2] Jean Pagni died in April 1691, on board, off Diego Rays I.

East Wind, which fill'd our Sails to our Hearts content; but the next Night it chopp'd about, and became contrary: there rose also a Tempest, which, however, did us no more hurt than to make us pay the usual Tribute to the Sea. The 14th the Wind shifting to the South-west, our Admiral fir'd a Gun, to make us keep our Way Northward. The next Day we spy'd the Isles of *Schetland*, in the height of 29 deg. 42 min. The 18th we made those Isles, and our Ship doubled the Cape, but with much difficulty; the Man that was at the Helm, and had not perceiv'd that our Vessel was carry'd away by a rapid Current, was surpriz'd when he saw a that Rock, which was not above a Foot under Water, and but seven or eight Fathom distant from us; he cry'd out so terribly, that we were all frightened, and every Man began to strip, in hopes of swimming to the Island; but the Water was deep enough at the side of the Rock for our poor little Frigat to pass, and we had the good Fortune to escape being Ship-wreck'd.

Such as have been as far as this End of the World, says an ancient Author, as far as the famous *Thule*, have a Right to Lye with Impunity, and to make themselves be believ'd without fear of being reprehended; and certainly the Number of those that make use of this Privilege is very great, conformable to an old Proverb of ours, *A Bon menteur qui vient de Loin*;—A good Lyer ought to come a great way. —As for us, we shall say nothing but exact Truth, no more than if we had never been as far as *Thule*.

This Island makes us still afraid as often as we think of it, and as we were all of us busie endeavouring to preserve our selves from this new Danger, one of our Seamen spy'd a *French* Privateer[1] bearing down upon us with all the Sail she could make. We went to Prayers, and prepar'd to defend our selves; but we were so happy as to escape this Enemy also; for after we had doubled the Cape, we found

[1] In original "un *Corsaire*", a Dutch term for a corsair.

she cou'd not gain upon us; however, she pursu'd us six Hours, till Night coming on we lost sight of her, and ran back the false Course we had kept to escape him. We were all of us convinc'd by this double Deliverance the same Day, that we had been under the singular Protection of the Almighty, and we render'd the Thanks that were due to his Divine Favour.

The 22d we took a sort of Curlew by hand, for it came and perch'd upon our Sails: abundance of Purs ["*Allouettes de Mer*"] follow'd us, flying about our Ship.

The 28th an innumerable Army of Porpuses past by us; at which Sight we were very well pleas'd; they seem'd to us to march really along in order of Battel, and they leap'd up and down by turns, still keeping their Ranks; they approach'd so near to us that we struck one; we darted at him with a Trident, fasten'd at the End of a Rope: when they are wounded they grow weak, through loss of Blood, and then may be easily taken up: The blood of these Animals is hot: they bear their Young in their Bellies like Whales, Lamantines, and some other Fish; the inside of their Body is very like that of a Hog, but the Flesh is Oily and has an ill taste.

The 6th of *October* we spy'd a Squadron of 13 great Dutch Men of War, of which one gave us chase; for, not knowing what she was, we made the best of our way from her; when she came up to us, she hung out her Colours; we did the same, and then we both continu'd our several Courses.

The 22d we discover'd the *Canary Islands*[1] by Moonlight, and fell in with the Trade-Winds, which never left us; or, rather, which we never left till we came in the 9th Degree. By our Account we were 50 Leagues to the Wind-ward of *Palma*, between *Fortcventura* and the *Grand Canaries*.

[1] The archipelago of the Canaries is situated near the polar limit of the north-east trade winds, the prevailing breeze setting from the north-east to north.

We coasted along the Island *Fortaventura*, with a Larboard Tack, a whole Day, and in the Evening, about Sun-set we perceiv'd the *Grand Canàries;* we past by it in the Night without meeting with any Ship, tho' commonly they are to be met with thereabouts, especially *Turks;* they post themselves there to lie in wait for the Ships that come out loaden with Wines, in hopes of picking up some of them.

The 28th we were in the height of 24 deg. 29 min. and saw a vast Number of flying Fish about us. I observ'd one of them very exactly; 'twas about 10 Inches long; there are few larger, and abundance shorter: Its Back was of a Russet-brown Colour, speckled with blue Spots, inclining to a greenish, with a little black amongst it. Its naked Belly was black, and blue, and its Sides cover'd with little Scales of dark red. Its long Wings or Fins were brown, with Sea-green Spots upon them. The young Ones are of a light grey, and their Tail the same. Its Eye is great and rais'd; the Sight of it large and blue, the rest black. The Prickles upon the Head of it are of a greyish Colour, and like a sort of very rough Chagreen.

Our Books represent this Fish[1] after another manner; and I doubt not but there are some of them of different sorts of Figures; for Nature varies in every thing. The *Irish* Horses are not of a like make with those of *Friesland*, nor *Kentish* Cows like *Middlesex*, tho' those two Counties are contiguous; much less are they like those of *Iceland*, which have no Horns. And, without going out of our own Species,

[1] "When, for instance, he (Leguat) obtained the first flying-fish, he examined, described, represented, and compared them with the representations of other authors, discovering at once that there exists among these animals two forms, those now called *Dactylopterus* and *Exocetus*. He appends, for this reason, to his drawing the copies of three figures of these fish taken from other works, and on that of Olearius makes the true observation that it had probably been drawn from a dried specimen, and was therefore inaccurate; for he says, '*quand ces animaux-là viennent à se secher, il est difficile d'en observer la véritable forme.*'" (Professor Schlegel, *Ibis*, 1866, p. 151.)

one Man is a *Negro*, another a *Dutch* Man, and another a *Chinese*.

To return to our Fish. A certain Naturalist calls that which is mark'd A, a Sea-Swallow, and attributes a great many Properties to it, which I shall not repeat. That which I have mark'd B, is called a Mullet, in *Sanson Mathurin's*[1] Journal; he was a famous Pilot in the *Mediterranean*, and us'd to see them in the *Gulph of Lyons* and elsewhere. The 3rd, mark'd C, was taken from the K. of *Denmark's* Cabinet, where I have some reason to believe 'tis not exactly design'd: For when these Animals grow dry, 'tis a hard matter to observe their true Form. There are some of them that have four Wings. Those we eat tasted something like a Herring.

These poor little Creatures, that may be taken for an Emblem of perpetual Fear, are continually flying and rising to save themselves; they are very often caught in the Ship's Sails: they fly as long as there remains any Moisture in their Wings; which, as soon as they are dry, turn to Fins again; and they are forc'd to take again to the water, or else, their Fright is always so great, they would fly to the End of the World.

The Efforts they make to become rather Inhabitants of the Air than of the Water, is to avoid the Persecution of the Goldfish and the Bonita's, who are at eternal War with them. But these wretched Animals fly from one Peril, and are immediately overtaken by another; for the cruel Birds are their irreconcilable Enemies, and always on the watch in great Flocks to devour them, as soon as they enter the new Element, where they thought they shou'd find an Asylum from their Foes of the Sea. The Porpoises make the same War upon the Goldfish, as the latter do on the Flying Fish: and all this gives us a true Image of human Life; which is

[1] Sanson Mathurin, after whom, probably, Port Mathurin, in Rodriguez, was named.

nothing but continual Dangers, and in which the Weak commonly fall a Victim to the Strong.

Our Ship wanting Balast, we put into the Island of *Sall*, one of the Isles of *Cape Verd*,[1] which we discover'd the 29th of *October*, and arriv'd the next Day in the Road, where we cast Anchor in a Creek to the Southward of the Island, in eight Fathom Water. A great Number of Sea-Birds came to visit our Vessel, and perching on our Yards, let us take them by hand: we eat some of them, but we did not like them. We caught Fools, Frigates, Longtails, and other Birds. Perhaps I shall have room to speak of these Animals hereafter. We had a Swallow ever since we came from the *Canaries*, which we let go every Morning, and it return'd to us at Night; 'twas kill'd here by an Accident.

The 31st we went ashoar, early in the Morning, with our Arms and Dogs to hunt; we found presently a prodigious Quantity of Goats; we cou'd easily see them, tho' at a great distance, for the Island is extreamly dry, without Tree or Bush, producing nothing but a sort of short Grass, at least in the greatest part of what we saw: we kill'd some of them, and left 'em on a Bank, to take them with us when we came back, for we went farther into the Island, and search'd about two or three Hours for fresh Water, but all that we met with was brackish; by which means we were almost dead with Thirst. The Sun shines very hot in this Isle, and there being no Shade, the Heat was very troublesome to us; we therefore return'd to our Goats, and thence to the Sea-side, where we arriv'd about Sun-set. When we came back

[1] The Cape Verde islands are a group of fourteen islands, situated about 320 miles west of Cape Verde. Sal island is the north-easternmost of the islands; it is seventeen miles long, north and south, and about five miles broad, with rocky shores and mountains, the most northern of which—Pico Martinez—is 1,340 feet high. The only production of this island is salt, which is now brought to the sea-coast on tramways. South Bay or Porte Santa Maria, where Leguat landed, is the only inhabited settlement on the island.

we found there a very handsome Horse, of a reddish bay Colour, his Main and Tail trailing on the ground; 'twas fierce, and never had any Horse a better Shape, nor a more magnificent Chest: he ran away immediately, and let us see that his Heels were good. I know not what Name to give to another Animal which we also saw, but were not so near it; I believe 'twas a sort of Cat, but one of our Company would have it to be a Fox: And I am mistaken, if he is more happy in his Conjecture than the Translators of the *Psalms*[1] into *French*, when they make *David* say, His *Enemies should be a Prey to Foxes*. We found most of our Companions ashoar catching Turtles, we went along with them up into another part of the Country and digg'd, in hopes of meeting with fresh Water, but all our Labour was in vain, Night came upon us, and we slept on the Sand, it being a Star-light Night. Nor were we less weaken'd by Hunger and Thirst, than tir'd with Hunting. As we lay all of us in a sound sleep, we were on a sudden waken'd by the braying Musick of a Rustick Regiment of Asses, of which we cou'd not rid our selves, but by braying as they did, and firing twice or thrice a Fuzee at them; but they had scarce turn'd their Backs upon us, when another Troop of the same Beasts entertain'd us with the same Song: They were accompany'd by above five hundred Goats, which surrounding us, we cou'd sleep no longer: At last these Animals retir'd, and we imagin'd if we follow'd them, they might perhaps lead us to some hidden Spring. As we believ'd, it happen'd, part of them descended into a little Pit, where there was Water, which they drank: We rejoyc'd all of us, as if we had found a Treasure; but this Water was also salt. These Beasts having been forc'd to drink of it from their Births, 'tis now become customary to them.

[1] Allusion to verse 11 of Psalm lxiii: "*Tradentur in manus gladii, partes vulpium erunt*" ("That they may be a portion for foxes"). (*Muller.*) Probably version by Marot and de Bèze.

Day broke, and Hunger still pressing us, we had a mind to roast a Leg of a Goat, I dare not say of a Kid, 'tis too honourable a Term for it, and I am sorry that ever I should call these Beasts Goats. For want of Wood, we heap'd Asses and Horse Dung together, made a Piramid of it, like one of *Dutch* turfs, hung Pieces of Flesh on Strings, and turning 'em round by a good Fire, our Meat was soon ready. But, alas, such Meat, such a Taste, such a Smell, that I can scarce forbear vomiting when I think of it. There's no Sawce like a good Stomach. Every Man's teeth went to work, we tore it to pieces, chaw'd it as well as we cou'd, and down it went without Water. 'Tis probable the Reader will say here, we were in the wrong to amuse ourselves in this Rascally Island, whereas we might have gone aboard and have eat and drank our fill: He must therefore know, That the Seamen who had set us ashoar, were return'd with their Long-boat to the Ship, and, whether we wou'd or not, we were oblig'd to stay till they came for us: They cou'd not think that we far'd so ill; they saw us making good Cheer by a good Fire, afar off, and did not doubt we were very well at our ease. At last they brought the Boat for us about Noon, and we returned to our *Swallow*.

The Isle of *Salt* is not eight Leagues about, 'tis so call'd, because Ships go thither to load Salt, which is there excellent in its kind, and in abundance, lying in the crevises of the Rocks, on the *South* Coast of the Island. 'Tis made without Art by the Sea and the Sun. Here also Sailors come to turn the Turtle, a Term us'd by them for killing it, because they turn the Turtle on its Back when they catch it; all the Shoar is cover'd with these Animals, especially in the Season, when they lay their Eggs. We turn'd some of these stupid and slow Creatures, and amongst the rest, two which, according to the guess of the Skillful, weigh'd 500 Pound each. We Carry'd all that was good of them aboard with us.

There is nothing more to be said of the Isle of *Salt*. We found some *Cow-dung* there, but could see no *Cows;* and all the Birds we met with were Sparrows, they are like ours except in their size, for they are not half so big.

We must not forget the fine Shells that are spread over all the Coast, the variety of them is Charming, and I never saw any in any other Place so beautiful as here; they are certainly the work of an excellent Workman. The shineing of the Enameling, the mixture and diversity of the Colours, the Form, the Delicacy, the Symmetry, every thing Charms, and raises in us a just Admiration of the Great Creator. I was bound for the *Indies*, the *Antipodes*, I did not know whether; for Desert Islands from whence I thought I should never return: And my Head being full of such Thoughts, I could not amuse my self to gather Shells; but had I touch'd at this Island when I came back, I should certainly have furnish'd my self plentifully with them.

I must own, now it comes into my Mind, I was sorry that as I walkt about the Island, I could not meet with any of those great and beautiful Birds call'd *Flamans*, from *Flamboyans* (Flaming), which by relation of Voyagers, are the most considerable of the Place. 'Twas not only a simple desire to see these Birds; the greatest Pleasure I propos'd to my self by it, was to compare the different draughts I had of them with the Original; For all that have describ'd them, except Mr. *Willoughby*, at least all the Authors (and they are not a few in number), which I have seen who have spoke of them, make the beak of these Birds like a Spatula or a Spoon, whereas Mr. *Willoughby* designs them with a sharp Beak.

This curious Naturalist adds, that he believes these Birds had the name of *Flamantes*[1] given them, rather on account

[1] "On y voit beaucoup de gros & de menu détail, & particulièrement des boucs: les Isles du Mai, de Bonne-vuë & du Sel, en fournissant assez pour charger des vaisseaux qu'on envoie au Bresil.

"Il n'y a pas une moindre abondance de volatiles, comme de poules de Barbarie, perdrix, cailles, alouettes, & une sorte d'oiseaux que les Por-

of some of their Feathers, whose colour is like that of flaming Fire, than because they were originally of *Flanders*. And certainly our learned Author is in the Right; for 'tis most sure that such *Flemings* as these are as great Strangers in *Flanders*, as in *England*.

The *6th of Novemb.* we weigh'd Anchor, the Wind being fair, and sail'd towards the Isle of *Martin-Vas*, according to our Orders.

The *7th* the Wind continuing still fair, we saw and doubled the Island *Bonavist*, which is as bad as the Isle of *Salt;* 'tis longer and more Mountainous. We could see no more Trees on this Island than we had done on the other.

The *11th* we the first time made tryal of one of those short but troublesom Tempests, which the Seamen call Gusts,[1] and we had 'em from time to time afterwards till we crost the *Line*. These are a sort of violent Whirlwinds mingled with Rain, which rises at once, but do's not commonly last above a quarter of an Hour. We always prepare to receive them; for we can spy the Gusts afar off: we immediately furl our Top-sails, which otherwise wou'd be carry'd away, and the Masts broken.

tugais appellent *Flamencos*, qui ont sur le corps des plumes blanches, & qui sont de la grosseur d'un cigne, ou d'une cigogne. On y trouve encore des poules communes, de paons, des hérons, quantité de tourterelles & de lapins." (*Ier Voiage des Hollandois.*)

"Not less exact are his observations on the birds which, at that time, were represented under the name of *Flamans*. He says, indeed, that the numerous authors whom he had consulted, except Willughby, attributed to these birds the bill of a Spoonbill; and, in fact, the name of *Flamants* was at that time generally given to large, red Marsh-birds. The true *Flamingo* was figured by Willughby, while many others, Rochefort for instance, whom Leguat respectfully quotes, described and figured the red Spoonbill of America (*Platalea ajaja*) under the name of *Flamant*." (Schlegel, *Ibis*, 1866, p. 151.)

Franciscus Willughby, *Ornithologiæ Libri tres, in quibus Aves omnes hactenus cognitæ in methodum naturis suis convenientem describuntur* (London, 1676).

[1] "*Grains*" in French edition, *i.e.*, squalls.

When the Wind is too strong we lower all our Sails, or carry as little as we can. While this Tempest lasts, the Sea is in an extream agitation, and seems to be all on Fire. These Gusts often happen several times in the same Day, during which the Ships Crew is ev'ry Man hard put to it; a Calm commonly succeeds in a very little while after the Storm. We also escap'd several watry Dragons,[1] and on the 12*th* the Wind ceas'd in the height of 7 Deg. 15 Min.

At Night we caught a Bird something like a Woodcock, which flew about our Ship all day long; The Mariners kill'd her not so much for the pleasure of eating her, tho' that was worth their while, as to revenge her driving away four Swallows which had follow'd us some time, and every Morning and Night entertain'd us with Musick the more agreeable, because it puts us in mind of the dear Land, which is so well belov'd by all Men that are sailing in the middle of the vast Ocean.

The 13*th* an hour after Day-light we met with a furious Gust, which brought our Main-top-mast by the Board, having broke the Iron Hoop that bound it. I observe this only because all our Crew were very much amaz'd at it.

The 14*th* we saw a prodigious number of Gold-fish and Bonitas, of which I have spoken. These Fish being well enough known, I did not describe them; but since I have occasion to speak of 'em again, I have a great mind to tell what sort of Fish those were that I saw.

The Gold-fish[2] of *America*, of which Mr. *de Roche-*

[1] "C'est un de ces gros tourbillons que les Mariniers appellent Trompes, Pompes ou Dragons d'eau. Ce font comme de longs Tubes ou Cylindres formez de vapeurs épaisses, lesquelles touchent les nuës d'une de leurs extrémitez, & de l'autre la Mer, qui paroit boüillonner tout autour." (*Voyage de Siam*, p. 49.)

[2] "In his observations on the *dorade bonito*, he (Leguat) quotes" (says Schlegel) "Rochefort and Rondeletius, the last of whom he subsequently takes to task severely (p. 89, English edition), and on this occasion it appears that, at the time of his return, he took an interest in natural,

fort[1] writes, have sharp Heads, I know nothing of such Gold-fish as these; those that I saw had a round flatish Snout, that gives them a certain Physiognomy, in which I did not take much delight. Neither do I believe that any Body values this Fish for the beauty of its shape, but that of its Colours are admirable: There are two sorts of Gold-fish, that which I have giv'n the Figure of, is enammel'd on its Back, with speckles of a blewish Green on a black Ground: Its Belly is of a bright Silver Colour, its Tail and Fins as if gilded with fine Gold; Nothing can be more bright and shining when 'tis in its Element, or before it begins to Mortifie, which it does presently when 'tis out of it: 'Tis four or five foot long, and not thicker than a Salmon.[2] *Rondelet* calls it the Sea-Bream, our Mariners told me, that the other Species of the Gold-fish differs from this only in that its Jaw sticks out a little more, and that its Speckles are a beautiful Azure on a Golden Ground. The flesh of this Fish is firm, and tasts very well.

The Bonita is generally three or four Foot long, very thick and Fleshy, its Back is cover'd with a little Scale, so thin, that one can scarce perceive it; 'tis of a Slate colour, and a little upon the Green in some Places. Its Belly is of a grey Pearl colour, and turns brown near the Back; four streaks of a yellowish colour begin at the side of its Head, run along the Body almost at a Parallel distance, and join at the Tail, which is not unlike that of a Makarel. Its Eye is large and lively, resembling a Jet-stone set in a Silver Ring. I have

history; for he inserts, for comparison, the figure of a *bonito*, which one of his friends had drawn and communicated to him from an example, caught in 1702, on the coast of Kent" (*Ibis*, 1866, p. 151). The French word is "Dorade", nowadays commonly called "Dolphins" by misapplication. N.B.—Dorades and bonitos are very different kinds of fishes.

[1] *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles*, par L. de Poincy et C. de Rochefort (Rotterdam, 1665).

[2] Rondelet (Gal.), *Libri de piscibus marinis* (1554-55, Lugduni).

design'd the Shape of its Body, and the Disposition of its Fins. Near the Tail of it, there are six little things like square Fins on the Back of it not an inch High, and over against them under its Belly there are seven.

As I was writing this, a Friend of mine, who is always admiring the Divine Wonders of Nature, and very nicely considers them; told me that he had measur'd and design'd a Bonita which was taken in the year 1702 near *Rye*, on the *Kentish* Shoar, and which differ'd in several things from that I have been speaking of. The Reader will, I doubt not, be pleas'd to see the Billet which my Friend wrote me on this Subject, when he sent me the draught of this Bonita.

"The Fish which in the *Indian* Sea is call'd Bonita, is known on the Coasts of *France*, and particularly between the *Loire* and the *Garonne*, by the name of *Germon*. It very rarely enters the Channel, which I note *en passant* is quite contrary to the Makarel; for the Coasts of *Normandy*, especially the *Bessin*[1] and *Costentin* are full of them; whereas they are never, or very rarely, seen about *Rochelle*. *The Germon* or Bonita of our Seas, is certai 'y a Fish of the same Species with the Bonitas you saw in your Voyages, but the Species varies a little, a thing that may be observ'd in all sorts of Animals, as soon as we change the Country, as you have your self taken notice. The last Bonita which I saw, and which was taken near *Rye* in the beginning of *June* 1702 was just three Foot long, and its Body proportionably greater than that which you design'd in the Figure you shew'd me; for thrice the breadth of it where 'twas broadest, made compleatly its length. I send you an exact draught of it. At the first view one would think that this

[1] "*Bessin* and *Costentin*." "*Costentin* = Cotentin, the large Norman peninsula, the only peninsula in France, which now forms the department of La Manche. *Bessin* is the name of a small district, not now marked on any map, whose principal town is Port-en-Bessin, not far from Bayeux, Calvados." (*Gabriel Marcel.*)

Fish did not open its Mouth very wide, but there's a secret help for that, and it opens it as far as the place mark'd *a*. Its Teeth above and below are so little, so short, and so weak, that one wou'd think they were only made for Scratching: Its Tongue is broad, blackish, and hard at the Root, but soft and a little reddish at the Tip. Its Eye is a good Inch Diameter: The Sight like very white and transparent Chrystal, and the Circle that surrounds it, is more Brilliant than pollish'd Gold.

"The colour of this Fish is the same with that of which you have giv'n us a Description, tho' it has no Scales on its Back, it has nothing but a smooth Skin on its Back and Belly, and on its Side between the Tail and the Fins near the Gills, there's a scaly List two Inches broad, the Scales so little and so fine, that they are scarce perceptible: Its two Fins, if I may call them so, which are mark'd B, are bony and immoveable. In the narrowest part of its Tail, there's a knot on each side, out of which grows a little hairy Tuft that is not above an Inch and a half long.

"Whereas your Fish has but six of those little Fins which you have represented in your Draught, to be upon the Back toward the Tail, and seven under it; this has nine above and eight below. *e.e*, Shews where the Gills are which open one another very easily. And *d.d.*, is like a great Scale, which cannot be but very little lifted up all about it.'

The Trade-winds[1] having left us in the *9th* Degree, we had nothing after that but Gusts and Calms till we came to the Line, no sooner was one gone, but another came. The Heat was not excessive, we cou'd very well bear our Night-gowns all Night long.

We crost the Line the *23d* of *November*, and were oblig'd to undergoe the impertinent Ceremony of *Baptism*, at least

[1] Sometimes the north-east and south-east trade winds meet, generally somewhere about the meridian of 28°, or 33° west, where a vessel may, by chance, pass in a squall from one trade to the other.

all those who had not assisted at the same Festival before, or would not buy themselves off for a piece of Money.

'Tis an ancient Custom, and will not be abolish'd without difficulty; 'tis also sometimes done when we pass the Tropicks. I shall in a few words report how this fine Ceremony was perform'd in our Vessel. One of the Seamen who had past the Line before, drest himself in Rags, with a beard and Hair of Hards of Hemp, and black'd his face with Soot and Oil mix'd together. Thus Equip'd, holding a Sea-Chart in one Hand, and a Cutlass in the other, with a Pot full of blacking Stuff standing by him, he presented himself upon Deck attended by his Suffragans, drest as whimsically as himself, and arm'd with Grid-Irons, Stoves, Kettles, and little Bells; with which rare Instruments they made a sort of Musick, the goodness of which may be easily imagin'd.

They call'd those that were to be initiated into these Rites and Mysteries one after another, and having made them sit down on the edge of a Tub full of Water, they oblig'd them to put one Hand on the Chart, and promise that on the like Occasion they won'd do to others what was at that time done to them. Then they gave them a mark in the Forehead with the stuff out of the Pot, wetted their faces with Sea-water, and askt them if they won'd give the Crew any thing to drink, promising them they won'd in such case let them go without doing any further Pennance. Those that gave were presently discharg'd, and some avoided this unpleasant *Præludium* to what was to follow, by giving 'em something Extraordinary: It cost me but a Crown to have the same Privilege with the Latter. As for those who paid nothing they were thrown into the Tub of Water over Head and Ears, and then wash'd and scrub'd every where with the Ships Ballast; and I believe this scrubbing and washing lasted much longer than those who were so treated desir'd.

Our Frigat and Boat having never past the Line, they were

subjected to the same Law. The Captain was oblig'd to give something to save the Beakhead of his Ship, the Seamen alledging, 'twas their Right to cut off the Boats Nose else. The Money the Men got by it, was laid up to be spent on the whole Crew when opportunity offer'd. Every Nation practices this ridiculous Custom after a different Manner.

We kept on a straight course towards the Isles of *Martin Vas*,[1] which are in 20 Degrees *South* Latitude, and we had the Captain put in there, that we might go a-shoar and visit them according to our Orders. He having no design to touch there, reply'd, That the Round-top of our Fore-Mast was half broken, and we should have a great deal of trouble to make those Islands, because we must go near the Wind, and tack all the Way: He therefore chang'd his Course, notwithstanding all our Entreaties to the contrary, and the Contempt we shew'd for his false and trivial Reasons. Thus we made the Cape of the Island of *Tristan d'Acugna*, which is in 37 Deg. of *South* Latitude.

The 10*th* of *December* we past the Tropick of Capricorn, and enter'd the *Southern* Temperate Zone.

The 13*th* we were visited by several Birds, there were abundance of those which are call'd Great Gullets, and which rather shou'd have the name of great Craws,[2] on account of their great hanging Breasts. They are almost as big as a Goose, are very tall, but neither handsom nor good to eat; their Flesh being tough, and having a strange Tast. Their Heads are big, their Beaks long and sharp, their Bodies white, their

[1] Trinidad and Martin Vas form a small but remarkable group of rocky islets near the usual track of sailing vessels bound for the Cape, in lat. 20° 30′ S., long. 29° 21′ W. The Martin Vas rocks lie twenty-six miles from Trinidad; they are three in number, and the largest is visible thirty miles off.

[2] In the print of the French edition it is named *Grand Gosier*, a well-known French name for a pelican; but Leguat's figure, entitled *The Great Throat*, seems to represent a heron of some kind. It is impossible to specify the bird.

Wings brown or russet, their Neck sometimes short, sometimes long, according as they please, either to stretch it out or shrink it up. 'Tis a melancholy Bird that passes whole days on the brink of a Rock, hanging its Head over into the Sea, like a Fisherman with a Line to catch little Fish. Though the figure of this Creature was not at first sight very pleasing to us, they were however very welcome, because we were weary of seeing nothing but Water, and the least new Objects diverted us. Like their Highnesses in those little out-of-the-way Courts where no Company comes to interrupt their Solitude; or like the Nuns who are so greedy of Society in their Solitary Convents.

The 17*th* we heard the Seamen cry a Whale,[1] another Marine Pleasure; every Body rose immediately to pay our Compliment to the Eminency of a great black-Back, which swam up and down slowly about our ship.

A Moment after we saw fifteen or twenty more, which put me in mind of what Mr. *de Godeau*[2] says elegantly in his Poems:—

[1] There are two distinct families of Cetaceans. The first, *Odontocati*, or toothed whales, include the spouting whales, which subsist on fish and sepias, representing the carnivorous class, exemplified by the sperm-whales, porpoises, and dolphins. The second division comprises the whalebone whales, as the *rorquals* and *mysticetes*, the true or right whales, provided with filaments of whalebone.

The whales seen by Leguat were probably the sperm-whales, the largest and most valuable of the southern whales. These are gregarious, and are found in parties, termed by whalers "schools" or "pods", according to the size of the association.

[2] "*Monsignor Godeau*, a witty prelate, and an *habitué* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, who was one of the first members of the French Academy. It is related that he owed the bishopric of Grasse to the irresistible habit of punning possessed by Richelieu. Godeau having written a paraphrase of the canticle, *Benedicite omnia opera*, presented it to the Cardinal, who was so pleased with it, that, after having read it over again in the presence of the author, he said to him: 'You offer me the Benediction, I offer you in return (*grâces*, thanks) Grasse.'" (*Eugène Muller.*)

"Thou, for the Beauty of the Universe,
With Monsters various in their Forms
Hast Peopled all the Liquid Plains;
And wil'st that all within the spatious Deep,
To the huge Whales shou'd Homage pay
Who look like floating Rocks upon the Sea."[1]

Indeed such as have no more Experience of the Sea than honest *Aloysio Cadamusto*[2] had, and all his Ships Crew imagine, that these huge Beasts seek after to devour them. This celebrated *Voyager* in the I Chapter of the *History* of his *Navigation* tells us, they were all very much afraid of a terrible Monster, whose Fins were like the Sails of a Windmill, which came down upon them, but they escap'd that Danger, by clapping all their Sails to, and flying faster than the Monster could pursue them. As for us, we were so far from being afraid, that we were extreamly delighted to see those Colosses play in the Waves with as much agility, as a Bird flies in the Air. One of these Whales[3] was much bigger than any of the rest, and lookt like a little Isle with a little Mountain in it, on the surface of the smooth Ocean.

I question whether that prodigious half of a Jaw which is

[1] "Pour la beauté de l'Univers,
De Monstres en formes divers
Tu peuplas les humides plaines;
Et voulus qu'en leur vaste enclos,
Tous rendissent hommage à ces lourdes Baleines
Qu'on prend pour des écueils sur la face des flots."

[2] Voyages of Cadamosto and Pedro de Cintra, in the Portuguese service, 1454-1463, in the collection of voyages by Vicenza, 1507.

[3] Compare Milton (1665), *Paradise Lost*, Book VII:—

". . . . these leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep,
Stretch'd like a promontory, sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land."

When a solitary or lone sperm-whale is observed it almost invariably proves to be an old bull. When two or more schools of whales coalesce and form a very large assemblage, this is technically distinguished as a "body of whales".

thought worthy to be fasten'd to the Wall of the Pallace of *St. James's* in *London*, belong'd to an Animal of a more Monstrous size.[1] Our Seamen who had *Patricius Vartomanni's* Relation,[2] cou'd not help laughing when they read what that famous Author writes of Whales that piss'd, as high as the Clouds.

But if they had read *Pliny* and *Solinus*, venerable for their Antiquity, with their Whales 960 Foot long, their inclination to Laugh, had been chang'd into a mortal Fright, for fear of being all swallow'd, Ship, Anchors, Sails, Masts, Men, and Goods: For tho' those that are commonly call'd *Naturalists*, have for a long time us'd themselves to affirm, that *Jonas* cou'd not be swallow'd by a Whale, because the Throat of these Animals is so straight, that hardly a Pilcher can go down it; yet every Body do's not believe what they say, as a matter beyond all Dispute. There are few Men who have themselves Dissected Whales, and have seen with their own Eyes what sort of Throats they have; besides, we must consider there are several different kinds of these Marine Monsters. And as I cannot refuse believing P. *George Fournier*,[3] a very curious Man, and very knowing in every thing which belongs to the Sea, who assures us in his *Hydrography*, that two Men were found in the Belly of a Whale that was thrown a-shoar at *Valentia*, on the Coast of *Spain*, a Jaw of which is preserv'd in the Escurial, so I am satisfi'd a Whale of the size *Solinus* speaks of, won'd have swallow'd us up as easily, as they do Sack and Loaches in *England*.

[1] In Max. Misson's *Memoirs and Observations* in his travels over England, 1697, translated by Mr. Ozell. 1719, p. 359:—

"Whale.] In one of the Courts of St. James's Palace, there is the Rib of a Whale twenty feet long. *Jonas* would certainly have had Elbow-room enough in the Belly of such a Fish, if the Monster's Throat (or the Gate of the House) was proportionable to the rest; that Point s to be examin'd."

[2] *Navigatio Vertomanni*; see *Novus Orbis* of Hervagius, 1537.

[3] *Hydrographie*. par M. George Fournier. Paris, 1667.

Signior Cadamusto says that his *Leviathan* was bigger than the Whale, but the Dispute concerning the *Whale* and the *Leviathan*, is about a word only; for the Animal that in all Languages is call'd a Whale, is the biggest of all Fish, and even of all Animals. And from thence Mr. *Bochart*[1] writes (*Phal.* Vol. II. Book I. Chap. I.) that the word *Balcine* or Whale is a Syriaque word, which signifies Lord of Fishes.

I cou'd willingly say one word more on this Article, to confute the Error of those who imagine the Whale-bone which Women use in their Stays and Gowns, is taken out of the Tail and Fins of this Fish; for what I say, I know very well, and that is, the Whale-bone we speak of is never found any where but in the Mouth of several kinds of these Animals which have no Teeth: Enough of this, 'tis time to keep on our way, and that I may not be accus'd here of loving Digressions, I shall say nothing of the Battel between the Sword-fish and the Whale, which our Mariners told us of, tho' it cou'd not properly be call'd a Digression, and the thing is curious enough, much more so than the fighting of Cocks, or that of Dogs and Bears, in which whole Nations take delight.

The 21*st* we again met with abundance of Whales, and there was one which I believe scratch'd her self against our Ship,[2] but so rudely, that she was flead with it; she found some Fracture which rub'd off the Skin, for when she was at a Distance from us, we perceiv'd she was all bloody, and her scratching had giv'n our Vessel a little *shake*.

[1] *Hierozoicon sive Bipartitum opus de Animalibus S. Scripturæ, Geogr. Sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*, 3tia editio, Samuel Bochartus, 3 vol. in 2, fol., Lugduni Batavorum, 1692. *Balæna* is derived from φάλλαινα.

[2] A male sperm-whale of the largest size, and probably the guardian of a "school", rushed repeatedly at an American whaling ship, the *Essex*, and stove in the planking of her starboard bow, in 1820.—This was a case of assault, which, however, there is nothing to show that Leguat's was. The whale that "scratched" herself against his ship was more likely trying to divest itself of barnacles, with which, like most whales, especially in the South Seas, it was probably beset.

Arriving in the height of the Isle *Tristan* we sail'd *Eastward* to endeavour to gain it, but we cou'd not succeed because of the Fogs and hazy Weather, which we had for five or six days; we lay by all that while, that we might not go beyond it, nor come too near it. The Weather not clearing up, we were afraid of losing our time there, and resolv'd to take hold of the opportunity of a fair Wind which then presented, and might bring us in a few days to the *Cape of Good Hope*; But we had not kept on our Course thither six Hours, before the Wind shifted again, and was in our Teeth, which oblig'd the Captain to tell us, he must make a new effort to put into the Isle of *Tristan*.[1] His pretended design succeeded in some sort, we saw that Island *Thursday* the 27*th* of *December*, about six in the Morning, and coasted it from the *North*, to the *South* and by *East*, but we cou'd find no place to cast Anchor, we were always Sounding, but never reach'd the Bottom.

We perceiv'd plainly enough that the Captain's Chart was false, because there was a Bay mark'd to be in that part which we saw, where there certainly was none at all; and having no intention that we should land there, he wou'd have perswaded us the Isle was inaccessible: But we were sure Ships had formerly anchor'd there, and were confirm'd in that Opinion by a good Chart of the Sieur *Tistard's*, where a Bay was mark'd in another place to the *Westward*, and it represented the Coasts that were before us, to be, as indeed they were, very high and steep.

[1] The Tristan d'Acunha Isles are three in number: Tristan, the largest, to the north-east; Inaccessible, the westernmost and smallest; Nightingale Island, to the south. The N.W. extremity of Tristan, near the settlement, is in lat. 37° 2′ S., long. 12° 18′ W. The people now living in the village on Tristan form a very interesting community in what is called Falmouth Bay. The Duke of Edinburgh landed here in 1867, the *Challenger* in 1874. It is dangerous to range along the margin of the island nearer than two miles, on account of the baffling eddies, which leave a ship in the onset influence of the swell.

We observ'd a little Island *to the Southward*, but we did not come near it. That Coast of the Isle of *Tristan* which we saw, was about two Leagues long; it seem'd to be extreamly agreeable, tho' very steep, as I have said; and tho' we had Mists from time to time, which depriv'd us in part of the sight of it, and sometimes hid it all entirely from us, yet we could see the Hills from the top to the bottom, were adorn'd with the most beautiful verdure in the World, and we saw the Sun with Pleasure thro' tall and straight Trees, with which the tops of the Mountains were cover'd, Birds were every where flying about, the running Waters flow'd abundantly in several places, from Bason to Bason, making admirable Cascades; and from the foot of the Hills, to which they rapidly rowl'd, they fell precipitately, into the Sea. All the different Beauties of this charming Prospect, made us more desirous to have a nearer view of it, and refresh our selves in so delicious a Place; but we desir'd it in vain.

The Sea was almost cover'd with Whales and Sea-Wolfs, which swam to the very Shoar of the Isle playing with the Water, and some of them ran against our Frigat; about which flew a great number of Sea-fowl of several kinds, some as big as our Geese, others no bigger than Ducks. The sight of them fill'd us with new Joy, as did every thing that brought the much desir'd Land to our Remembrance: 'Twas to no purpose for us to flatter our selves with hopes of Landing on the lovely Isle that lay before us, and perhaps we might have stay'd there too long if we had. There was the greater likelihood of it, inasmuch as our Healths were very much impair'd, the most Vigorous finding his Strength extreamly decay'd, but we cou'd discover neither Bay nor Port, our Captain not having done all that was in his Power to search after one: We durst not stay near the Shoar in the Night-time; besides, we were too much expos'd to violent gusts of Wind which blew off Land from between the Mountains, so we pursu'd our Voyage towards the Cape.

In the Night the Wind rose so high, that all our Hands found business enough to employ them. The Waves flew up to the top of our Masts, and there fell so much Water upon Deck, that our young Lad had been drown'd if he had not been very nimbly assisted.

On *New-Years-Day*, 1691, we were entertain'd with the sight of a Sea-Cow, of a russet Colour; sometimes her whole Head, and sometimes above half her Body appear'd above Water; she was thick and round, and seem'd to be more bulky than the bigest of our Cows.[1] Her Eye was large, her Teeth or Tusks long, and her Muzzle swell'd out a little: One of our Mariners assur'd us, this Animal had Feet the same as you see in this Figure.

The 11*th* and 12*th* we saw abundance of Birds as big as Partridges, and very near of the same Colour, which our Ships Crew call'd by the Name of *Grisards*[2] or grey Birds: There were several other sorts, and all of them different from those of our Continent. You may imagine these new Objects were not disagreeable to us; but what pleas'd us most was, that they were a certain sign of our being near Land.

[1] The figure given by Leguat's publishers of the *Vache Marine* is all but identical with that figured by Père Tachard, who writes of it:—"On voit dans les grandes Rivieres un Animal monstrueux, qu'on apelle Vache-Marine, & qui égale le Rhinocéros en grandeur, sa chair ou pour mieux dire son lard est bon a manger, & le goût en est fort agréable. J'en ay mis icy la figure." (*Voyage de Siame*, liv. ii, p. 89.)

There is much confusion as to the synonyme of so-called sea-elephants, sea-lions, sea-bears, sea-leopards, sea-wolves, etc., which names have been more or less misapplied to all seals with ears, so that it is impossible to form any conjecture as to what this "*Vache marine*" was. The figure given by Leguat is clearly meant to represent a hippopotamus; but he could not have met with a hippopotamus at sea! All we can say is, that it was probably not one of the sea-wolves he found at Tristan d'Acunha.

[2] "Des grisets ce sont oyseaux gros comme Pigeons qui vivent de peche, ils sentent trop le marescage" (*de Flacourt*). "*Grissard*" seems to be any grey sea-bird. Leguat, doubtless, met with "Cape Pigeons", but he would hardly call them "Grissards": more likely "*Pintados*".

The 13*th* in the Evening we saw and knew the Cape of *Good Hope*, but lost sight of it again in a great Fog, which rose on a sudden, and oblig'd us to keep to Sea all that Night.

The next day we drew near and saw the Isle *Robben*,[1] which is at the entrance of the Port. This little Island is flat, and has no Dwellings upon it but some Hutts where the *Lime-burners* live, when they are sent thither to make it.

All of us had a long while earnestly desir'd to arrive at the *Cape*, for we all wanted Refreshment extreamly, being almost eaten up with the Scurvy, and the Grapes beginning to ripen, the Season, was very favourable to us. After having Coasted along the Cape two days, sometimes with a Larboard, and sometimes with a Starboard Tack, because of the contrary Wind and Current, we at last enter'd the Bay the 26*th* of *January* 1691 and cast Anchor about four in the Afternoon.

Tho' this seems to be an admirable Bay, its vast Bason being enclos'd on one side by a ridge of Mountains, and on the other by a long tract of Earth, which seems instead of a Mole for it. 'Tis however very often dangerous to ride in, the

[1] Robben (so called from the seals which used to inhabit it) or Penguin Island lies five miles N.E. from Green Point, at the entrance to Table Bay, and three miles from Blaauwberg beach, the northern boundary of the bay. A constantly northern current sets out between Robben Island and the mainland: added to which the wind blows with great violence from the S.E. In dark or hazy weather many ships have sailed right upon Green Point, without seeing land, whilst their masts were seen over the fog from the elevated ground, so it is a prudent course for a stranger not to beat into the bay in thick weather, but to keep off until it is clearer.

"On laisse sur la gauche en entrant une Isle assez basse nommée l'Isle Robin, au milieu de laquelle les Hollandois ont arboré leur Pavillon. Ils y relèguent ceux du pais, & même ceux des Indes qu'ils veulent punir de banissement & les obligent d'y travailler à la chaux, qu'ils font des coquillages, que la Mer y jette." (*Père Tachard*, 1686.)

reason of which is, partly for that one of those Mountains which ought always to be a shelter to it, is sometimes, and even frequently a fatal Source of those impetuous Gusts, that presently put all the Ships into a terrible Disorder; besides, the Sea-winds are very furious, they blow with a frightful force, and the Anchorage not being very good, Ships are in great danger of running a-shoar, or oversetting, and no Boats are then suffer'd to come off to them. This bad Mountain is near the Point of the Cape, and call'd the *Devil's Mountain*, on account of the mischief it do's. 'Twas in the year 1493 that *Bartholomew Diaz*[1] was sent by *John* II, King of *Portugal* to discover this Cape; but he says, the dreadful Winds that always blow there, hinder'd him from Landing, and for that Reason he gave the Place the Name of *Tormentado*, the Tempestuous. The story adds, the King reply'd they shou'd not be so soon discourag'd, and that he wou'd himself give that Land the Name of the Cape of *Good Hope*.[2]

[1] A Portuguese expedition under Bartholomew Dias was despatched by King John II, from Lisbon, in 1487, along the west and south coasts of Africa, to find a route to the Indies, and successfully reached the Cape, named *Cabo Tormentoso*, afterwards Cabo de Boa Esperança, which name, some say, was given it instead of Agesingue, its proper designation, because that was the farthest the Portuguese King hoped to extend his explorations and conquests, or because this Cape gave expectation of better countries and discoveries beyond it. (*Wise.*)

[2] The southern promontory of Africa, commonly called the Cape of Good Hope, is a peninsula twenty-eight miles in length, composed of a vast mass of mountainous and rocky land. The north end of this promontory forms the west side of Table Bay, on the south coast of which stands Cape Town, having near it, on the west, the Lion's Mountain, 2,180 feet high; at two miles from it, to the south, the Table Mountain, 3,550 feet, eastward of which is the Devil's Berg, 3,270 feet, and other elevations.

The Cape, on approaching, either from the east or west, has the appearance of a large island. Of all the land the most remarkable feature is Table Mountain, which appears to have a flat, level summit with perpendicular sides. It is composed of a sandstone and quartzose rock resting on a granite base.

When the S.E. wind blows at the Cape, a remarkable phenomenon

There are two other Mountains near the *Devil's*, one call'd the *Lyon's Mountain;* for that when we see it from the Bay, some Men fansie it looks like a Lyon Couchant. On the top of it there's always a Guard, and ten pieces of Canon: And when any Ships are discover'd at Sea, notice of it is giv'n to the Port.

The other Mountain is call'd the *Table Mountain*, and with good reason: for its Summit being cut off Horizontally, it naturally enough represents the figure of a Table. There's a little Lake or Pond at the top of it, which supplies part of the cultivated Lands in the bottom with Water: We had several *Charts*, and took several views of the Bay, but this[1] seem'd to us to be the best.

We found four Ships there, two *Dutch* (the *Black Lion* and the *Mountain of China*), one *English*, and one *Danish*. Our Guns being still in the *Hold*, we cou'd not Salute them at first according to Custom. 'Twas the next day before they were ready, and when fir'd, it had been better we had let it alone, unless we cou'd have come off more luckily; though, as it happen'd, 'twas well it was no worse; for one of our Guns which was loaden with Ball ever since we came from the *Texel*, and had not been discharg'd, was forgotten to be loaden, and being fir'd struck the Wall of the Fort, after

attends it, in that a dense, continuous mantle of cloud rests upon the summits, and pouring down the precipitous sides like a cataract, dissolves in vapour at about 1,000 feet. This majestic white cap is called by the inhabitants "the table-cloth", and by the French *La perruque* (cf. *Findlay, op. cit.*, p. 211).

[1] Vide *Voyage de Siam, des Pères Jesuites, envoyez par le Roy aux Indes & à la Chine. Avec leurs Observations Astronomiques, et leurs Remarques de Physique, de Géographie, d'Hydrographie & d'Histoire. A Paris,* M.DC.LXXXVI., *par Guy Tachard de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Plate of *La Baye du Cap de Bonne Esperance*, p. 62, qto. edition; p. 53, 12mo edition, 1687. *C. Vermeulen fecit.* The only difference between Tachard's charts and that in Leguat's volume is the difference of size, with the insertion of four ships and the omission of four large fish, meant perhaps for whales, in the Jesuit's drawing.

having past through the middle of thirty Persons, and brush'd a little the Beard of the Serjeant, who return'd us our Bullet. We were chid for our Negligence, and that was all. I remember to have read in *Lambard's*[1] Description of the County of *Kent* in *England*, a like violent Salutation of a Bullet which was shot thro' the Palace of *Greenwich*, and whistl'd in the First Queen *Mary's* Ears. Kings don't love such sort of Honours, and our Serjeant was of the same mind with Kings.

The next day we went to deliver our Letters to the Governour,[2] who check'd us for the Blunder we had made in entring the Port, and indeed we deserv'd it. However, he receiv'd us very civilly out of respect to the Treaty[3] Monsieur

[1] Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, 1576, p. 339. "One accident more touching this house, and then an ende; it hapened in the reigne of *Queene Marie*, that the Master of a Ship, passing by whilest the Court lay there, and meaning (as the manner and dutie is) with saile and shot to honour the Princes presence unadvisedly gaue fyre to a peice charged with a pellet in sted of a tampion, the which lighting on the Palaice wall, ranne through one of the priuie lodginges, and did no further harme."

[2] Herr Simon van der Stel was *Commandeur* at the Cape from 1679 to October 1691, when he was promoted Governor and, in 1692, *Gouverneur en Extraordinaar Raad*, till 1699, when he retired to Constantia. Herr Willem Pat was the Militaire Hoofd at the Castle from 1689-93.

[3] A few French refugees took service with the Dutch in South Africa before 1685, when the Company decided to send out a French pastor and some Huguenots as colonists, providing free passages and farms without payment as inducements, in order to improve the cultivation of vines and olives at the Cape. In 1688 several parties of French emigrants were dispatched from Holland, whom the Commander, van der Stel, received and treated kindly; but, in 1689, when these French settlers requested permission to establish a separate church at Drakenstein, he, being anxious to blend the nationalities, contested their right. He therefore viewed with pleasure the project of the Marquis du Quesne for drawing French emigrants to the Island of Mascaregne, as thereby the proportion of French refugees introduced into Cape Colony would be lessened. (*Cape Quarterly Review*, vol. i, p. 385.)

du Quesne had made with *Messieurs* the Directors of the *East-India* Company, from whom we also brought Letters of Recommendation. We afterwards made the necessary Inquiries for the prosecution of our Voyage, particularly if the *French* had again taken possession of the Island of *Mascaregne*, and if there was any news of their Squadron at the *Cape?* But we cou'd meet with no certain account of either the one or the other.

Some told us, the Squadron of Seven Men of War had put three hundred Men a-shoar there, in their way to the *Indies:* Others said, the *French* who were driv'n out of *Siam*, had seiz'd the Isle. And others assur'd us, that Squadron never touch'd there, and that there were only a few Families at *Mascaregne*, who had dwelt there a long time. These Reports being all different, were of no use to us. All agreed, that nothing cou'd compare with the Island of *Mascaregne* for Beauty and Fertility. That Corn, Grapes, and every thing else proper for the Nourishment of Man, grew there in abundance, and almost without Cultivating. This made us resolve to depart with all convenient speed for *Maurice* Isle which is not far from that of *Mascaregne* or *Eden*. We might expect there to be better inform'd of things, and enabled to concert our Measures better, to follow the Orders that were giv'n us in *Holland*.

Those of us that were sickest Landed at the Cape, as soon as we arriv'd, to cure our selves of the Scurvy, staying at Land being the only true and sovereign Remedy for that Distemper.

The Grapes were just beginning to grow ripe when we came there (which was an excellent Refreshment for our selves, and our Ships Crew:) We stay'd three Weeks at the *Cape*, as well to recover our Health, as to refit our Ship. Since my design is to speak more largely of the Cape of *Good Hope* in the sequel of this Relation, and to give an account of what Remarkable things I saw there in my Return,

I shall not detain the Reader any longer about it now, our good *Swallow* having been refresh'd as well as we, and all our Company being in a good state of Health, we weigh'd Anchor the 13*th* of *Feb.* 1691, after three Weeks rest a-shoar. We Saluted the Fort with five Guns, and so set Sail, tho' the Wind was not quite fair for us. After having tack'd to and again some time, we went on in a straight Course to double Cape *Needles*[1]; we came into 40 Degrees, and the Wind continu'd changeable till the 15*th* of *March*, when we had all the Prognosticks that fore-run a terrible Tempest.

The Wind became Impetuous in a very little time, and the Sea foaming and lifting up its Waves, form'd Mountains that seem'd higher than our Masts: the Air appear'd to be all on fire, Lightnings struck us almost blind, and the Waves rowl'd dreadfully in upon us. But our Crew were most of all terrify'd at the sight of *St. Elme's*[2] Fire, which stuck to our

[1] During the Southern summer, October to April, the passage round the Cape is a simple and easy one to make, the track lying within the region of the anti-trade winds. The chief difficulties are the strong gales which are encountered further to the south, at this season, than they are in winter, when they occur near the latitude of Cape Colony. Besides the adverse winds in the summer near the Cape, there is the Agulhas current to be encountered, setting to the west along the edge of the Agulhas bank. To avoid this a high latitude should be chosen, and the parallel recommended to run down the easting as far as the longitude of eastern Madagascar, is that between lats. 38° and 40°. After reaching longitude 54° or 55°, turning northward, the route carries between Mauritius and Réunion. This track, which was known and used from early time, has been named by the French "the Boscawen passage", in consequence of Admiral Boscawen, with a convoy of twenty-six sail, making a quick passage by this route in 1748.

All that part of Africa of which Cape Agulhas is the southernmost point is surrounded by a bank of soundings, which is called the bank of Agulhas. This bank begins at 32° 30′ of S. lat., near the coast, in long. 29° E., and continually increases its breadth to the southwestward, till it exceeds 135 miles, then, extending north-west, it contracts to the Cape of Good Hope, and finally terminates near St. Helena Bay. (*Findlay.*)

[2] "Dans l'une de ces Travades parurent deux diverses fois sur les mats, sur les vergues & sur le canon de notre Navire, de ces petits feux

Masts: Our Ship was so little, that People were amaz'd at the sight of it at the Cape, and 'twas now driv'n along with inconceiveable swiftness: All things were in Confusion, and horrible Disorder. Our Tackling broke, our Chests, our Arms, Beds, the Mariners and Passengers were tumbled *Pell-mell*, from one side to t'other: The Heavens which appear'd at first to us to be all on fire, were now hid from our Eyes by black Clouds, from whose profound depths issu'd such Torrents of Water, as threaten'd to overwhelm those that handled the Ropes with present Destruction.

Our Deck was always a Foot deep in Water, for the Sea threw it in faster than it cou'd run out; and it added to our Terrors, that no body there had ever seen the like before, so extraordinary was this Storm; the same Wind encreas'd still to a certain Point: after which all the others blew successively, and sometimes mingled together with equal fury to make Sport with our poor little Vessel, which this Minute they tost up to the Skyes, and the next sunk down to the Earth. During the ten hours that this Tempest lasted, all the Winds conspir'd to make an entire *tour* of the Compass; and it being impossible to handle the Ropes and Sails to work the Ship regularly, we were all that while oblig'd to abandon our selves to the caprice and fury of the Waves.

At last the Storm decreas'd by little and little, we recover'd Hope in the midst of Despair, and heartily Congratulated one another on our common Deliverance, each of us feeling a secret Joy, which none can be sensible of, that has not escap'd the like Danger, and been deliver'd out of so great and so just a Fright. We therefore return'd thanks

de figure piramidale, que les Portugais appellent le feu de saint Telme & non pas Saint Helme. Quelques Matelots les regardent comme l'ame du Saint de ce nom, qu'ils invoquent alors de toutes leurs forces, les mains jointes & avec beaucoup d'autres marques de respect. . . . . Ce sont ces mêmes feux que les Payens adoroient autrefois sous le nom de Castor & de Pollux; & il est surprenant que cette superstition se soit ainsi introduite parmy les Chrêtiens." (*Voyage de Siam*, 1686.)

to him, that had preserv'd us in the midst of it thro' his infinite Mercy.

When we were a little come to our selves, we lookt upon those dreadful Billows which threaten'd still to swallow us up, as if they only play'd with us, and concluded that the Tempest in which we had been, cou'd be nothing less than a Hurricane. We found a true and lively Description of it in the CVII Psalm, which we read with great Pleasure and Admiration, as we did also the XXIX.

Let who will boast of the famous *Idea's* of *Virgil* on the same Subject: What he says, do's not come up to the *Sublime* of these two Psalms. And, indeed, all the Places admir'd by the Pedants in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, are but Trifles, in Comparison with the Magnificent and Inimitable Canticles of *David*.

We Discours'd a long time on the terrible and almost incredible effects of the Matter of Air, which is in appearance so soft, so weak, so light, so invisible, and like to nothing, and which in the impetuous Agitations of these Whirl-winds, tear up the greatest Trees by the Roots, break Ships to pieces, throw down Houses, and in a few Minutes cause such great Disorders.

What's most to be admir'd in it, is, that the surest Presage of a Hurricane[1] (an *Indian* Word which we have adopted)

[1] "*Ouragan*". The winds and weather between the Cape and the meridians of Madagascar or Mauritius are certainly very peculiar, being a sort of debatable ground between the trades and the anti-trades, a region alternately affected by both.

Lieut. Bridet, Director of the Observatory at St. Denis, Réunion, attributes the rotatory gales or cyclones, which are encountered as far south as lat. 40°, to the recurving of those true cyclones which commence in the northern margin of the trade winds. These cyclones turn from left to right, like all others in the southern hemisphere, but with an angular velocity less than that of the cyclones of the torrid zone.

These extra tropical gales, which are most violent from May to August, invariably travel to the eastward. They last from one to

is a perfect Calm; the Sea puts on a deceitful Mien, she smooths all her Furrows, and leaves not the least wrinkle on her Brows, but looks on you with a gay and smiling Air.

I wish those Gentlemen whom we call Philosophers, wou'd shew us distinctly the secret Springs of these several wonderful Movements; instead of filling their famous Writings with their little superficial Reasons, which are almost always false. True sages humbly confess that Nature has her unsearchable Depths, and that to speak properly, all these are things Divine. They acknowledge also, that one of the greatest Sciences of true Philosophy, is not to be ignorant of ones Ignorance.

It has been thought that the Rain is salt when the Hurricane is at the height; several Voyagers have written as much, but tho' I will not positively deny the matter of fact, I am very apt to believe they confound the sprinklings of the Waves with the Rain: If 'tis said that the Rain has been found to be Salt a-shoar, in the middle of certain Islands, I answer in the first place, that I doubt it, and add, that the same Whirl-winds that lift up the greatest Vessels, may also raise up great quantities of those broken Waves, and scatter them to a vast distance, in these Isles or other Places far from the Sea, where, falling down in drops, they may easily be mistaken for Rain.

I shall say one word only of *St. Elme's* Fire, which I saw sticking to our Masts when the Storm was at the strongest, because I did not make any particular Observation of that

seven days, and travel at the rate of from four to twenty miles an hour. These storms are generally limited within a few degrees to the latitude of 40°.

The gales most to be dreaded are those which are preceded by heavy black clouds, rising from the N.W. and W., sometimes with lightning. The old Dutch commanders were directed by the East India Company to wear and shorten sail when this occurred, as a gale might be expected.

Phænomena. I saw it but by chance, and my Mind was then so employ'd about things of another Nature, that it had no time for matters of Curiosity. I observ'd a Body of blewish Light, as it were curl round one of our Masts, and I did not look to see if there was any more; what makes me believe there was but one, is, our Seamen were frighted at the sight of it; Whereas, had there been two, these poor Wretches wou'd have taken it for a Happy Omen. 'Twas without doubt according to this Idæa, that the Name of one of these two Fires only, is not mention'd by *St. Paul* speaking of the Ship he was in, but of both together: I say of both, because two was then spoken of. The two Children that came out of the same Womb with *Hellen* and *Clytemnestra*, the two Eggs of *Læda*, which some have transform'd into the Constellation of *Gemini*, and others adore under their Primitive Name of *Castor* and *Pollux*, as Gods of the Sea, because they support Pirates: But I know there sometimes appear four or five together, and perhaps more. As for Monsieur *St. Elme* succeeding Monsieur *St. Castor*, and Monsieur *St. Poilux*, 'tis a question that I leave to some Seraphick Doctor to decide how it came about.

The 3*d* of *April* we saw Land, great News! What it was we cou'd not tell, for we had lost our *Tramontane*[1]; Nevertheless we flatter'd ourselves with Hopes that 'twas the Isle of *Eden*; and we made Merry with the thoughts of setting foot on the Land we so much desir'd as design'd for the

[1] *Tramontana* or *Tresmontaine* = the Pole Star, thus alluded to in a document among the Ashburnham MSS.:—

"La tresmontaine est de tel guise
Qu'ele est el firmament asisse
Où ele luist et reflambie
Li maronier qui vont en Frise
En Gresse, en Acre, ou en Venise.
* * * *
Pour bise, ne pour autre afaire
Ne laist sen dout servise à faire,
La tresmontaigne clere et pure

place of our Habitation. The Wind seem'd to have a spirit of Contradiction, and wou'd not let us approach it, however, we disputed that Matter so effectually with it, that, in spite of its Obstinacy, we drew so near it as to perceive, after a strict Examination, 'twas the same we sought after, and had now found with equal Surprize and Joy.

We discover'd several Beauties in this admirable Country, from the place where we stopt to view it: All that part of it which presented it self to our View appear'd to be a Level, with Mountains rising in the Middle; and we cou'd easily discern the agreeable mixture of Woods, Rivers and Valleys enamell'd with a charming Verdure: If our Sight was perfectly well pleas'd, our Smell was no less; for the Air was perfum'd with a Delicious Odour that ascended from the Isle, and that plainly arose from the abundance of Limons and Oranges which grow there. This sweet Odour struck us all alike, when we came at a certain distance from the Island: some agreeably complain'd, that the Perfume hinder'd them from sleeping, others said they were so embalm'd with it, that 'twas as much a Refreshment to them, as if they had been fifteen days a-shoar.

The Account[1] which Monsieur *Du Quesne* order'd to be publish'd of this Island, has not this Particular, but Mr. *Delon*[2] did not forget it; and he even writes, that he believes

> 'Les maroniers par son esclaire
> Jete souvent hors de contraire
> Et de chemin les assëure."
>
> (*Lais inédits*, M. F. Michel, Paris, 1836, quoted by Wm. Chapell in *Nature*, June 15, 1876.)

Perdre la Tramontane, equivalent to lose reckoning. "Il ne plus pouvoir s'aider de la boussole à cause d'agitation du vaisseau" (*Littré*). In fact, they knocked about so much that the compass-bearings could not be depended on

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 2, and Appendix.

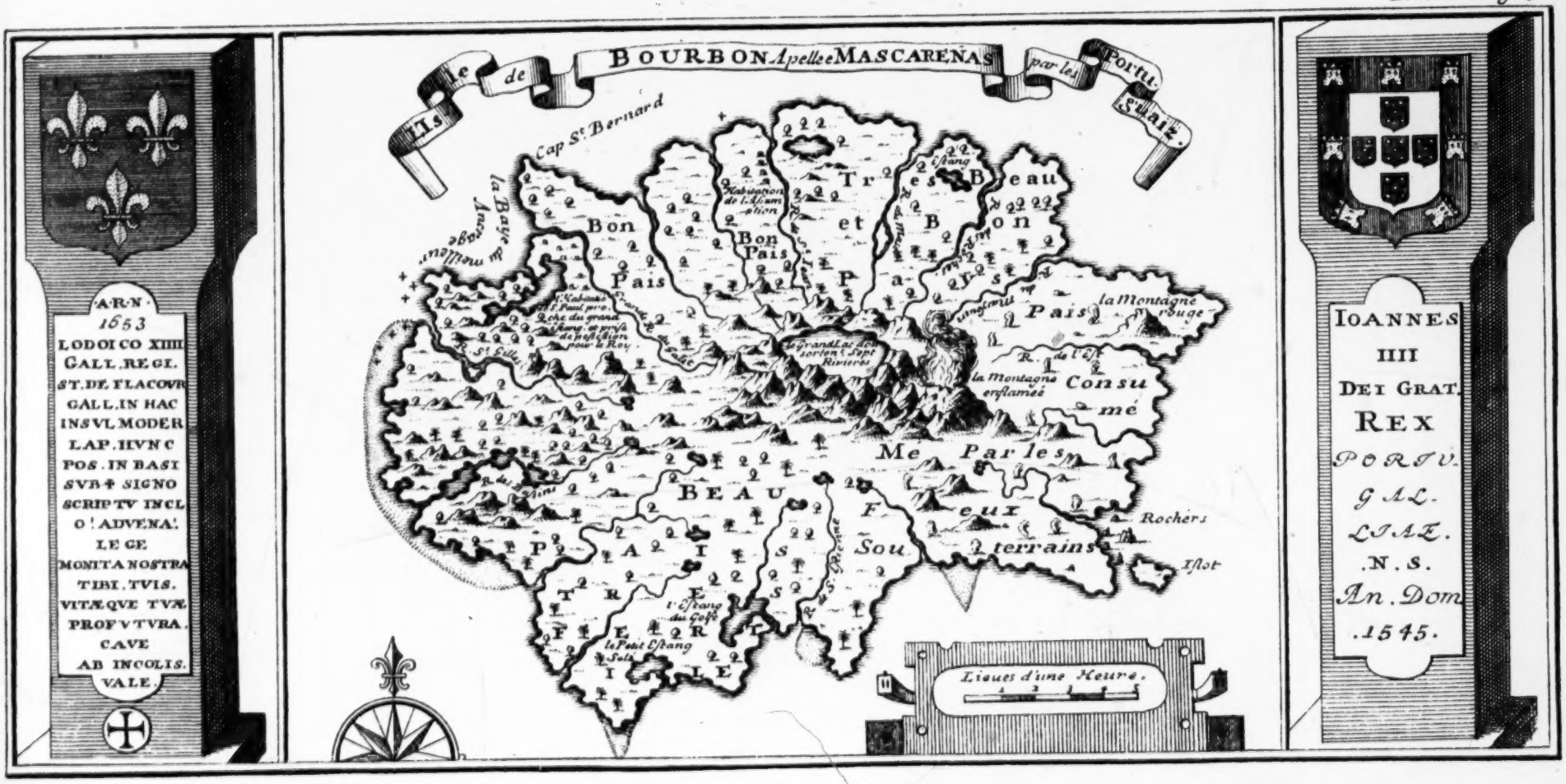
[2] *Relation de Voyage*, par M. Dellon, 2 vols. in 12, Paris, 1685. M. Dellon writes: "For the rest, there is neither Serpent nor Scorpion, or any other reptiles or Venomous Insects to be found in this Island, the

the Reason why there are no Serpents, Rats, nor Venomous Insects in that Isle, is, because the great number of Odoriferous Flowers with which it is cover'd, are Poyson to those Animals, which he says he has experienc'd. We cou'd not help praising this Paradise, all of us extoll'd it but the Captain, who affected to speak the quite contrary, whatever Disposition he then shew'd to it, and however positive his Orders were to Land on that Island, he never intended it; and 'twas pure chance that brought him so near it, for he thought he was above forty Leagues off when we discover'd it. He seem'd to be amaz'd when the Pilot told him he spy'd Land, and believ'd 'twas that we sought after. I shall not pretend here to give this Man's secret Reasons for what he did, because I know nothing but by Conjecture, and besides, 'tis not to our purpose, be it one way or t'other. (Alas, I can hardly hold my Pen in my Hand to say it); this Cheat, this Rascal, took hold of the weak Condition we were in, drew farther off from the Island by little and little, and sail'd directly to *Diego-Ruys*. His Ships Crew were all at his Disposal, and we, the Passengers, being all Sick, cou'd not pretend to force him to execute his Commission. 'Tis easie to imagine how we were surpriz'd and troubled.

As for the Description of this Amiable Country, since I was not so happy as to visit it my self, which the Reader has expected I should do from the beginning of the Voyage: I believe he will not be displeas'd, if I have recourse to a means to procure it for him that will in a great measure make amends for my disappointing him. To this end I will abridge the Relation[1] of the most Remarkable Rarities of this

goodness of it being such, as to be quite contrary to these Creatures, as it has been found by several Experiments which the *French* have made upon Rats." (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, 1698, p. 12.)

[1] "Now that I have compared Leguat's extracts from Du Quesne with the tract found and reprinted by M. Sauzier in 1887, I feel very doubtful whether M. Sauzier has got hold of the right thing. I don't doubt that his prize is the work of du Quesne, but it reads like an


Isle de BOURBON Apellee MASCARENAS par les Portu. Liaiz.
Cap St. Bernard
la Baye du mouleur
Bon Pais
Bon Pais et Trois Bassins
Trois Bassins
Bon Pais
la Montagne rouge
la Montagne enflamée
Consumé
Me Parlesm
Feux
terrains
Rochers
Islot
BEAU PAIS
Sous le Vent
l'Estang du Golfe
le Petit Estang
Lieues d'une Heure.
ARN 1653
LODOICO XIIII
GALL. REGI.
ST. DE FLACOVR
GALL. IN HAC
INSVL MODER
LAP. HVNC
POS. IN BASI
SVB + SIGNO
SCRIPTV INCL
O ! ADVENA !
LE GE
MONITA NOSTRA
TIBI. TVIS.
VITÆQVE TVÆ
PROFVTVRA.
CAVE
AB INCOLIS.
VALE.
IOANNES
IIII
DEI GRAT.
REX
PORTV.
GAL.
LIAZ.
.N.S.
An. Dom
.1545.

Island, which Monsieur *du Quesne* made publick before our departure from *Holland*. 'Tis true, this Relation may be suspected by those who think 'twas his Interest to prepossess the World with an advantageous Opinion of the new World which he was going to Inhabit: But to this I shall first reply that Monsieur *du Quesne* was so very far from adding to the truth, that he wou'd not suffer any thing to be inserted in the Book he order'd to be Publish'd, which had the least air of Exaggeration: And in the next place I add that at *Maurice* Island, *Batavia* and the *Cape*, I can my self Witness, every Body allow'd there was nothing in that Relation, which was not exactly conformable to Truth.

"This Island was at first call'd *Mascarenas*, by the *Portuguese*, who took Possession of it in the Reign of their King John IV,[1] in the Year 1545. M. *de Flacour* set up the Standard of *France* there, one hundred and eight Years afterwards, in the Name of Lewis XIV. now reigning, and gave it the Illustrious Name of *Bourbon*. What he wrote concerning it is to be seen. He put the Arms of *France* on the very Monument where he found those of *Portugal*, having done the same at *Madagascar*.

"I believe the *French* have as good as abandon'd this little Island. Others that have since landed there, have found it to be so excellent and so beautiful, that they look'd upon it as a Terrestrial Paradise, and gave it the fine Name of *Eden*; that is, *The Country of Delight*."[2]

The Relation out of which I have taken this Abstract

abridgment of some book which Leguat had before him. If Leguat had had only the tract which M. Sauzier found he would never have inserted so many particulars which it does not contain."—N.

[1] This is an error of du Quesne; it should be John III. In 1661 M. de Flacourt described Bourbon, and gave a map showing the rivers and the volcano. The rivers are named and the habitation of the French settlers is shown at St. Paul. M. du Quesne evidently drew upon M. Flacourt's account for his description of Mascaregne.

[2] De Flacourt wrote: "Ce seroit auec juste raison que l'on pourroit appeller cette isle un Paradis terrestre."

says, no Body ever went quite thro' the Island, which was for want of good Information. The Map I have plac'd here, was taken from a Description given by Persons that visited it all over, and liv'd there several Years.

Monsieur du Quesne adds, "Be it as it will, 'tis certain the Isle of Eden is of a sufficient Extent, to contain easily a long Descent of Generations, of whatever Colony will settle there.

"'Tis most true, *says our Author*, That Voyagers have not made mention of any Country where the Air is more healthy than in this Isle; which is a very important Article. 'Tis well known abundance of sick People have gone ashoar there, and have recover'd their Health in a very little time. The same have those said, who have remain'd there much longer; tho' they wanted several Conveniencies, and were but too much expos'd sometimes to the Sun, and sometimes to the Dew. The Sky is clear; the Exhalations of the Earth, as well as those of the Aromatick Plants and Flowers, with which 'tis cover'd, perfume the Air, and they breath'd in a Balmy Spirit equally wholesome and agreeable.

"This charming Isle[1] lies between 21 and 22 deg. of S. Latitude, and has one Advantage in common with other Countries near the *Line*, that the Heats are temper'd by certain cool and regular Breezes, which Providence, admirable in all its Ways, has so dispos'd to render these Countries more Commodious for Habitation.

"The abundance of Springs that are found in this Isle, is

[1] Réunion, as the island is now called, is situated in lat. 20° 51′, long. 55° 26′ (*St. Denis*). It was captured by the British in 1810, but restored to France by the treaty of Paris in 1815, and is now an important colony of the Republic. It is 138 miles in circumference, and 48 miles long, east and west, by 34 miles broad, north and south. The island is a mass of volcanic mountains, the ridges rising to a height of 10,169 feet between the extinct crater *cirques*, whilst an active volcano forms the extremity of the island, whose summit is 8,613 feet in height. Its area contains about 610,000 acres, of which nearly one-third is cultivated.

one of its Rarities. The Water is clear and wholesome, and some of it Purgative. From these Springs flow Rivulets, and even some Rivers, which water all the Plains, and are so full of Fish, that Voyagers affirm, *Those who ford them find it so slippery, they can hardly stand for the Number of Fish.*[1] There are several Lakes, and one among the rest, so plentiful of Springs, that seven great Rivulets run out of it into a vast and rich Plain.

"There is no venomous Creature upon it, neither in the Water, neither on the dry Land; whereas almost all other hot Countries are full of Snakes, and such sort of Animals, whose Sting or Bite is dangerous, if not mortal. The same thing is affirm'd of the Plants and Fruits here.

"I shall say nothing of the admirable Shells that are pick'd up on the Sea shoar, nor of the Coral and Ambergreese that are found here, tho' they are both valuable and useful Things. But I must declare that the Sea is full of Fish, and that its Turtles only wou'd abundantly and deliciously subsist the Inhabitants. The Land Turtles are also some of the Riches of the Island. There are vast Numbers of them: Their Flesh is very delicate; the Fat better than Butter or the best Oil, for all sorts of Sawces. Some of the Sea turtles weigh above 500 Pound weight. The Land Turtles are not so big; but the great ones carry a Man with more ease than a Man can carry them. This Oil of Turtle, for 'tis a sort of Fat, which do's not congeal as other Fat do's, is an excellent Remedy in several Distempers.

"The Forrests are not so thick but one may easily go thro' them, and the Shade do's not hinder the Fruit from ripening. There is abundance of Cedars, of Ebony, and Timber for Carpenter's use, Palm-Trees, Fig-Trees, Plantanes, Oranges,

[1] "Les estangs & riuieres y fourmillent de poissons, il n'i a ni crocodilles dans icelles, ni serpens nuisibles à l'homme, ni insectes facheuses, ainsi que dans les autres iles, ni pulces, ni mouches, ni mousquites picquantes, ni fourmis, ni rats, ni souris." (*De Flacourt*, 1661.)

Limons, etc. We might name 20 other different kinds of Trees that bear Fruit good to eat, and the variety of their Tastes are enough to content those of all Men. Aloes, Indigo, Sugar Canes, Cotton, Ananas, Bananas, Tobacco, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Land and Water Melons, Cucumbers, Charibbean Cabages, Beans, Artichokes, a certain sort of Pease, and a hundred other Plants. Fruits or Roots of this nature grow naturally every where. 'Tis experienc'd that Indian Corn, Millet, Rice, Wheat, Barley, and Oats grow very well there, and that one may have above one Crop a Year of all these several sorts of Grains. People have had the Curiosity to sow some of each sort of our Pulse and Garden Herbs (which I shall not particularise, for fear of being tiresome), and they all came up to a wonder. The reason is, 'tis an excellent Soil, and the Father of Nature has render'd it admirably fruitful. Since we find very good Grapes there, we have reason to believe one may have very good Wine; and, no doubt, might with the same success raise any of the Fruit-trees peculiar to our Continent.

"The black Cattle,[1] Hogs and Goats, that were formerly left there by the *Portuguese*, are so multiply'd that we meet with them in Droves in the Forrests; and one may reasonably expect that Dear, Sheep, and all Animals that we find any where else, in the same Climate, wou'd in the same manner succeed there.

"The Fowl that are most plenty in this Island, are Partridges, Doves, Ducks, Wood-Pigeons, Woodcocks, Quales, Black-Birds, Puets, Thrushes, Geese, Coots, Ducks, Bitterns, Parrots, Herons, Peacocks,[2] Fools, Frigats, Sparrows, and

[1] "En cette année mil six cens quarante-neuf, i'y ay fait passer quatre genisses et un toreau, afin d'y multiplier. Et en l'année mil six cens cinquante-quatre, i'y en ay enuoyé autant, lesquelles on trouua qu'elles estoient multipliées jusques à plus de trente." (*De Flacourt.*)

[2] "In the English translation the word 'Géants' is here given as 'peacocks', as though it had been '*paons*'; but at p. 171 by 'giants'" (*Strickland*). "Les oiseaux de terre sont: le solitaire (comme une

abundances of other small Birds, as also Birds of Prey, and other Birds. There are Batts whose[1] Bodies are bigger than a Hen's, and the Flesh of them very pleasant to eat, when a Man gets over that Aversion to 'em which is begot by Prejudice. The Parrots are also excellent Food. The Peacocks are great Birds mounted upon Stilts; they frequent Lakes and Rivers, and their Flesh tastes much like that of a Bittern. The Partridges are all grey, and half as little again as ours. The Males of the Sparrows have red Breasts,[2] and when they make Love, redder than ordinary. But these little Animals, which, like Flowers and Butter-flies, seem to be made only to embellish Nature, multiply so fast, that, to say the Truth, they are troublesome. They come in Clouds, and carry away the Corn that is sown, if great Care is not taken of it; which is doubtless an Inconvenience; but a little Gunpowder soon frightens 'em away. There are also Caterpillars and Flyes, which are a little vexatious. And lastly (for we must say all we can, if we wou'd give a true and entire Idea of Things) those dreadful Tempests, that are

grosse oie), blanc, avec noir à l'extremité des ailes et de la queue, où il y a des plumes pareilles à celles de l'autruche, col long, bec de bécasse, mais plus gros, pieds de poule d'Inde, se prennent à la course et vollent peu. C'est un des meilleurs gibiers de l'île. Les oiseaux bleus, gros comme les précédents, avec bec et pieds rouges, faits comme pieds de poules, ne volant pas mais courant très-vite." (*Dubois*, 1669, quoted by *Maillard*, p. 10.)

[1] *Collet rouge*, or flying fox, is a large species of bat, *Pteropus Edwardsii*. Some specimens measure over three feet from tip to tip of the wings. "Il y a aussi beaucoup de tortues de terre et de mer, et des chauve-souris, grosses comme des petits chats." (*Dubois*.)

[2] These "Sparrows with red breasts" belonged to a species of weaver-bird, *Foudia Bruante* (*P. L. S. Müller*), of which Sir Edward Newton says (*Trans. Norfolk and Norw. Natural Soc.*, iv, p. 543) that "it was described in the last century by Buffon and figured by Daubertin. The specimen which provided the description and figure no longer exists, so far as I can ascertain. I have never heard of anyone now living who has ever seen an example of the bird. Its place on the island is now taken by the kindred species, *Foudia Madagascariensis*, introduced from Madagascar." See Appendix for list of Bourbon birds.

known by the Name of *Hurricanes*, are a dismal Article. However, we are assur'd they are much less violent than those of *America;* and, after all, do not last above four and twenty Hours. Besides, these terrible Tempests never happen but once a Year, and there are infallible ways of providing against them: to which we may add, that for one bad Day there are three hundred and sixty-four wonderfully fair ones. And this Consideration is very comfortable. Wise Men, who have had a little Experience of the World, and travell'd a little, know that no perfect happiness is to be expected in it, neither under the *Line* nor under the *Poles*. Every Thing has its For and Against, and the best is but the least bad. All that can be done therefore on this Occasion, as well as in others, is to take the Balance and weigh Things before we determine what to do. If some Inconveniencies in our *Eden* trouble you, says Mr. *du Quesne*, Put the Catterpillars, the Flyes and the Sparrows of this Isle, together with one *Hurricane* a Year, in one Scale, and add *Health*, *Liberty*, *Safety*, *Abundance*, and *Peace*. To counterbalance these three sorts of little troublesome Animals, put all those strange Beasts that our famous *Molière* calls Harpagons,[1] Purgons,[2] Macratons, Mascarils,[3] Metaphrasts,[4] Trissotins,[5] Town-Fops, all the Race of Misers, Cheats, Coxcombs, and Blockheads, add to that Dragons and Beetles, Cellar-Rats, Barn-Rats, Slavery, Poverty, Alarms, and a thousand Miseries, and see which Scale is the heaviest!"

I must again declare, 'twas to our great Regret, that we saw our selves leaving this Island behind us, this charming Island, so much desir'd by us. We were so weak and so troubled, that we consented to what we could not help; and

[1] *Harpagon*, the miser in *L'Avare*, by Molière (1667).

[2] *Purgon*, the conventional doctor in *Le Malade Imaginaire*.

[3] *Mascarille*, the sham marquis in *Les Precieuses Ridicules*, by Molière (1659).

[4] *Métaphrast*, a critic, *l'auteur qui l'explique*.

[5] *Trissotin*, a *bel esprit* in *Les Femmes Savantes*, by Molière (1672).

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Dunalley Bay. The Peak. Waterfall Glen. Port Mathurin. Circle Hill. Oyster Bay. Friars Hood. Diamond Island.

ISLAND OF ADRIAGUEZ.

LOOKING SOUTH

distant between 2 & 3 miles.

the Commander of our *Swallow* endeavour'd to persuade us he wou'd carry us to a Place every whit as good as that of which we were so fond. 'Twas but one hundred and fifty Leagues from this Island, but the Wind was so contrary, that we were forc'd to tack to and again for a Month together.

Poor *John Pugni*, one of our Companions, dy'd between the Isle we had found, and that we were seeking. He cou'd no longer resist the Violence of the Scurvy and the Oppression that tormented him.

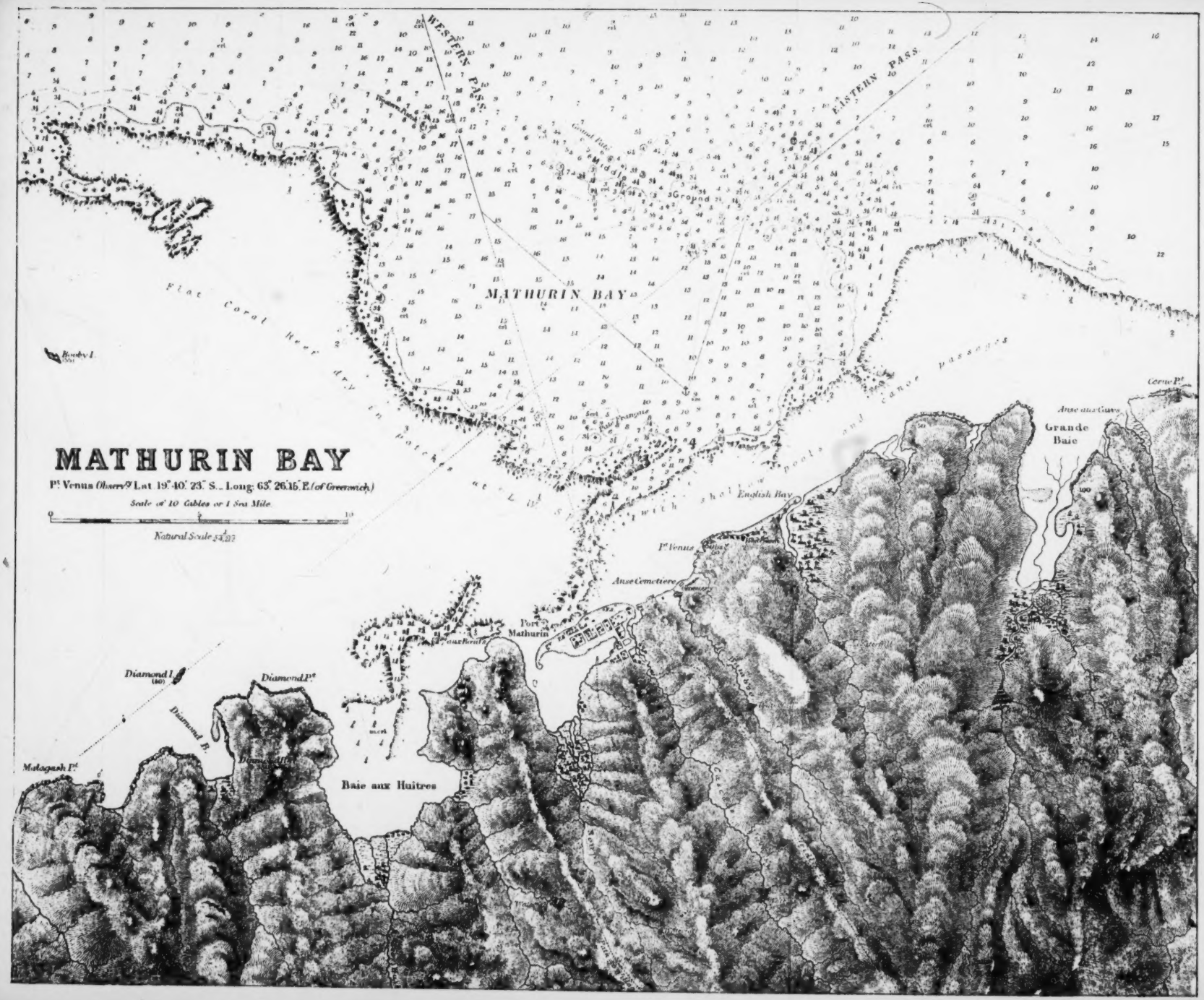
On Saturday Morning, the 25th of *April* 1691, Old Stile, we spy'd *Land*, which was the little Island *Diego Ruys*, where our Captain resolv'd to carry us; we came very near it, by the Eastern Point sailing Southward. It appear'd to us to be difficult of access, it being surrounded with Rocks call'd *Shelves*,[1] which run very far out into the Sea. We did not at first perceive either Port, or Bay, or any Place where we might land. In the Evening we sounded and met with the Bottom, three Leagues from Shoar. We cast Anchor, 'twas a Calm, and we stay'd there till Monday the 27th. for what reason I know not. That and the next day we spent in examining the outside of the Isle as much as we cou'd, to endeavour to discover some Place that was accessible. The 28th, about four in the Afternoon, we perceiv'd an Opening, which seem'd proper for our Design: But the Night following we were driv'n out to Sea, and beat there till the next Day. About 11 a Clock in the Forenoon a Calm took us, and brought us into great Danger; for a rapid Current plainly carry'd us among Rocks, that run out above a League into the Sea. We were so near that there was no

[1] *Shelves*, the coral reefs which encircle the island. "*Brisans*" in the French edition, rocks on which the sea breaks in heavy surf. Glorious old John Dryden used the word *shelves*:

> "Three ships were hurried by the southern blast
> And on the secret shelves with fury cast." (*Æneid*, i, 154.)

likelihood of avoiding them, when by the special Mercy of Heaven there sprang up a brisk and fair Wind that drove us back. We then made the *Cape* towards the North Point, and at Noon the Captain put out his Boat to seek for a Place to enter. In the Evening we sail'd towards the Northeast Point, and the Boat gave us a Signal that it had found out good Anchorage: We were then on the Rock in eight Fathom Water only, which oblig'd us to be always sounding. We cast Anchor in nine Fathom, a sandy Mud at Bottom; our Ship was tow'd along by the Boat; We lay there till the next Day, when we intended to look out for a better Place. Accordingly, early in the Morning, the 30th of April, we cast Anchor in nine Fathom Water, a good Bottom of Ouzy Sand, and shelter'd from the East and South-East Winds, which blow always in that Country.

The Island afar off, and near at hand, appear'd to us very lovely: The Captain, who had his Reasons for not landing us at *Tristan* or *Mascaregna*, desir'd nothing better than to leave us at *Rodrigo*, and with that Design he highly extoll'd the Beauty and Advantages of this Island; and indeed this little new World seem'd full of Delights and Charms. 'Tis true we did not see so many Birds flying about as at *Tristan*, and our *Road* was not so perfum'd with the *Odours* of the neighbouring Shoar as at *Eden*, from whence we had been come about a Month. But we cou'd not thence conclude there were no Birds in the New Island, nor no Flowers to send up grateful Sweets. Besides, the Face of it was extreamly Fair. We cou'd hardly take our Eyes off from the little Mountains, of which it almost entirely consists, they are so richly spread with great and tall Trees. The Rivers that we saw run from them water'd Valleys, whose Fertility we cou'd not doubt of; and, after having run thro' a beautiful Level, they fell into the Sea, even before our Eyes. Their Banks were adorn'd with Forrests; and some of us, at the


MATHURIN BAY
Pt Venus Observy Lat 19°40' 23" S. Long: 63° 26.15' E. (of Greenwich)
Scale of 10 Cables or 1 Sea Mile
Natural Scale 1/73
WESTERN PASS
EASTERN PASS
MATHURIN BAY
Flat Coral Reef
Roche L.
Grande Baie
Anse aux Cimes
Cerne Pt
English Bay
Pt Venus
Anse Cimetiere
Port Mathurin
Diamond I.
Diamond Pt
Diamond R.
Madagash Pt
Baie aux Huitres

sight of this Lovely Isle, call'd to mind the famous *Lignon*,[1] and those several enchanted Places, so agreeably describ'd by Mr. *d'Urfé* in his Romance; But our Thoughts were immediately carry'd away by other Contemplations. We admir'd the secret and wonderful Ways of Providence, which, after having permitted us to be ruin'd at home, had brought us thence by many Miracles, and now dry'd up all our Tears, by the sight of the Earthly Paradise it presented to our view; where, if we wou'd, we might be rich, free and happy; if contemning vain Riches, we wou'd employ the peaceable Life that was offer'd to us, to glorifie God and save our Souls.

We were all of us more busy'd with these sweet Meditations, than possess'd with Transports of Joy, when the Boat was put out again, and we were ask'd who wou'd go ashoar? Upon which every one rose up hastily, tho' there was not one but was sick. All my Companions got into the Boat, but seeing it was full, I made no great haste after them. I was older by much than any of them, and consequently more Master of my self; and being full of I know not what, mixtures of Grief and Joy, I spent the rest of the Day in profound Silence.

In the Evening the Captain return'd, and told me Wonders of the Country, which he exaggerated much beyond the Truth, as I had time enough to discover. He talk'd to me of Animals and Fruits that were never seen in that Island. 'Tis true, he brought back several sorts of great and good Birds: I experienc'd the Truth of that by making an agree-

[1] A small stream in the department of Loire, which, taking its rise in the hills of Forez, flows through Boen and by the family château of the celebrated d'Urfé (who has there placed the scene of his romance *l'Astrée*), and enters the river Loire near Feurs. It is not surprising to find Leguat quoting this romance, first published in the reign of Henri IV, for it continued a popular book down to the days of J. J. Rousseau (born in 1712), with whom it was a favourite volume during his youth. (Note in Eugène Muller's version of *Leguat's Voyage*, p. 60.)

able Meal on this new and unknown Dish. The next day (the 1st of *May* 1691) I follow'd my Companions, and went ashoar.

This Isle, which is call'd either *Diego-Rodrigo*, or *Diego-Ruys*, or *Rodrigo*, is situated in nineteen Degrees of South Latitude. 'Tis about twenty Miles (*lieues*) in Circuit. Its Length from East to West, and its Shape, are as may be seen in the Map.

We seated our selves near the Sea, on the North North-West Shoar, in a lovely Valley, by the side of a great Brook, the Water of which was clear and good. We went all over the Island, and chose this Place as the most convenient, and that which Providence design'd for us, by conducting us first to it.

I have observ'd that every one to whom I have told my Adventures, have had a great Curiosity to know the Disposition of our little Habitations; 'tis for that reason I now lay down a Plan of them. For by my own Experience, I know very well that when the Reader by this means conceives any Idea of the Places where Things happen'd, he is the more concern'd about the Things themselves.

Let him therefore cast his Eyes on the *Map* I set before him, he will see I distinguish it from the General Plan of the Island, because Things cou'd not have been so distinctly mark'd there. I desire he wou'd pardon my deficiency in *Designing*, which I profess not to understand, I give him what I have, and I can do no more. As I have made but an imperfect Relation of Things, so I have drawn but an imperfect Design, in this small Delineation of our poor Settlement. And I hope my Defects will not be found to be so great, but he may himself easily supply them.

The little River he sees, comes from the middle of the Island, and at four or five thousand common Paces below our Cabbins, it forms several Cascades, falling from Rock to Rock, and several Basons (*et napes d'eau*), that wou'd adorn a Prince's Garden. In a hot and dry Time it receives very little Water from its Fountain; But in all

E. Higgin Del. C.D.M.S. Lithog.

PORT MATHURIN.

(RODRIGUEZ.)

Looking west.

Times the Tide fills it to the Brink of the Banks. The little Space which I have mark'd towards the Left, and at the Mouth of it, is low Ground, which the Sea covers as often as it rises. This side of the Water is in general lower than the other, and subject to frequent Inundations by the Floods in *Hurricane* time.

Peter Thomas, one of our Pilots, of whom I have made mention, chose to inhabit a little Island form'd by the River. He built his Cabbin there, and made a little Garden with a double Bridge. He was a very pretty Lad, and us'd to perch upon a Tree in an Inundation; which brings to my Remembrance the glorious Monarch *Charles* II when he was mounted up in the famous Oak at *Boscobel*,[1] whose Relicks are Venerable to this Day. But whereas that King durst not say a Word, or only Whisper to Captain *Sans-Soucy*,[2] the Companion of his Fortune, Master *Peter Thomas*[3] play'd on

[1] After the battle of Worcester Charles heard, at the house of John Penderell, near the Boscobel Wood, that Colonel Careless was hiding in the vicinity. At his suggestion the prince passed the third day of his wanderings in concealment with Colonel Careless, among the branches of an oak tree, which was called the Royal Oak, and remained standing as late as the middle of the last century, when it was mentioned by Dr. Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published in 1776.

The reference to the Oak of Boscobel seems a favourite allusion of Max. Misson, who in his *New Voyage to Italy* writes: "This is no ill Thought; and puts me in Mind of some of our Friends in *London*, who have precious Snuff-Boxes, made of the *Royal*-Oak known as Boscobel."

[2] "The Name of the Captain that accompany'd the King in the Oak at *Boscobel* was *Careless*, an English Word which signifies Negligence, or without Care. But the King thought fit to change his Name from *Careless* to *Carlos*." (See Sylvanus Morgan's *Spheres of Gentry*, and Dr. Chamberlain's *Present State of England*, vol. i, ch. 4.)—Note by the editor of the original edition. The translator has retained the French equivalent for Careless—*Sans-souci*—in the text as it stands in the French edition.

[3] This Peter Thomas is not mentioned in the list of Leguat's companions on p. 6 (*supra*). He appears to have been one of the crew of the ship, and to have made up his mind to remain at Rodriguez at the last moment when the ship sailed. See note in Muller's 1883 edition, p. 71, and p. 55 *infra*.

the Flute, or sung, or chatter'd freely with his Friends. He was the Only Man of the Company that smoak'd Tobacco: He was also a Mariner. When his Tobacco was gone he smoak'd Leaves.

The next Cabbin to the Isle on the Right-hand towards the Sea, was Mr. *de la Haye's*. He was a Silversmith, and had built a Forge, so that he was oblig'd to make his House a little bigger than the rest. *La Haye* was always singing of Psalms, whether he was at work or walking.

The Cabbins were ten or twelve Foot square, some more some less, according to the Fansie of the Builder. The Walls were made of the Trunks of Plantanes,[1] and the broad Leaves of the same Tree serv'd to cover them. The Dotts about every Cabbin shew where the Pallisado's stood, which enclos'd our Gardens. The Doors are also mark'd by the void Spaces.

The Plan shews at what distance these Hutts (*maisonettes*) were one from the other.

Near poor *la Haye's*, on the same side of the River, and not far from the Water, was the *Stadt-House* (*Hôtel-de-ville*), or, if you please, the Place of Rendezvous for our *Republick*, whose chief Councils concern'd the Affairs of the Kitchen. This Edifice was about twice as big as the others, and *Robert Anselin* lay in it. 'Twas there we prepar'd the Sawces for our Dishes, but we eat under a tall and great Tree, on the Bank of the Rivulet, over-against the Door of that Cabbin. This Tree afforded us a very fine Shade, and defended us from the burning Rays of the Sun. 'Twas in the Trunk of this Tree, which was very hard, that we cut a sort of a Nich, to leave there the Memorial and Monuments, of which I shall speak hereafter. On the other side of the Water, opposite to the Common *Hall* (*Hôtel*) was the Common *Garden:* 'Twas fifty or sixty Foot Square, and the Pallisado's that encom-

[1] Palm-trees; see *infra*, note on p. 63.

pass'd it of a Man's height and very close: Insomuch that the least Turtles cou'd not go between them. For that, as may be imagin'd, was the only reason which oblig'd us to enclose our Gardens.

But let us re-pass the Bridge, and come back to *Francis Leguat*, the Author of this Relation's Cabbin; you see 'twas between two Parterres, and upheld by a great Tree, which also cover'd it on the side of the Sea. This Tree[1] bore a Fruit something like an Olive; and the Parrots lov'd the Nuts of it mightily.

A little lower and nearer the Water on the same side of the Brook, stood Mr. *de la Case's* Lodge. This brave Man, who is now in *America*, had been an Officer in the *Brandenburgh* Troops, and knew already what it was to live in Tents. He was a Man of good Presence, Ingenious, full of Honour, Courage and Wit.

On the other side of the Rivulet between the Islet and the great Garden, was the Cabbin of poor Mr. *Testard*, whose sad Destiny we shall see in a short time. He was a stout (*brave*) Man, and one whom I very much regretted the loss of.

Mess. *B—le*[2] and *Boyer* liv'd together, and built their Hutt a little farther from the Brook, and nearer the Sea. The Reader will find a true Picture of honest *Isaac Boyer* in his Epitaph; for I must tell him before hand, that this dear Companion of our first Adventures, laid his Bones in *Rodrigo*. And since I have giv'n a Character of those whom I have spoken of, I shall add concerning Mr. *B——le* (who is, thanks be to God, now alive and in Health), that we all lov'd

[1] From this tree, considered by Professor Balfour to be the so-called "Bois d'olive" (*Elæodendron orientale*), exudes an enormous quantity of gum in the form of tears, which soon harden and form large masses in the crevices of the stem or on the ground around. It is the most frequently met with of all the trees in the island. (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxviii, p. 334.)

[2] M. Bénelle; *vide ante*, p. 6; also Introduction.

him for the good Qualities with which he is adorn'd. I observ'd with pleasure in this young Man (for he was not above twenty years old) an honest and upright Soul, good natur'd and lively: He had by his Studies acquir'd more Knowledge, than the generality of Mankind can pretend to. He was always Gay, and in good Humour,[1] and 'twas chiefly owing to his faculty of Invention and Address, that we built the rare Vessel, of which we shall say more hereafter; as also that we Manufactur'd certain little Hatts, which were very great Comforts to us in our great Distresses. To conclude, I must inform the Reader, *en passant*, that except *P. Thomas* and *R. Anselin*, Men of mean Fortunes, all the rest of our Friends were not driv'n out of *Europe* by Misery, nor did they desperately cast themselves on Desert Islands, because they knew not where to set their foot in the World. They were Men of good Families, and of no contemptible Estates; but Mr. *du Quesne's* Colony made such a noise (*& qu'ils étaient jeunes, sains & gaillards*), that having no ties of Families or Affairs to detain them, they had a mind to make this Voyage.

I believ'd, Reader, you wou'd be better pleas'd with the Continuation of our Adventures, after I had given you some light into the Characters and Circumstances of the Adventurers.

You see Trees scatter'd up and down in our little Town, they are Remainders of a much greater Number, which we thought fit to fell, and 'twas no hard matter to do it; for the Ground is extreamly light, and the Roots were easily taken up: I don't doubt, you Laugh to hear us talk of our little Town, but what I pray you was the famous *Rome* in its beginning? Had there been Women amongst us, 100 years hence, instead of seven Hutts, one might have reckon'd seven Parishes.

[1] "Il étoit toûjours gai, toûjours obligeant, & du meilleur naturel du monde." Bénelle was living at Amsterdam when this was written. (See Introduction.)

When we had finish'd our Preparations for building our little Houses, the Captain who stay'd fifteen days in the Road weigh'd Anchor, after having deliver'd us the greatest part of the Necessaries we brought for a Settlement, and taken fresh Provisions Aboard. We sent Letters by him to our *Friends* in *Holland*, wherein we had set out his Panegyrick as he deserv'd, but he was not such a Fool as to deliver them, as we understood afterwards, and, indeed, as we expected from him. What he left us was chiefly—

Biskets, Fuzees,[1] and other Arms, Powder and Bullets, Tools for Husbandry and building our Cabbins, as Saws, Hatchets, Nails, Hammers, and Sheers, Household-stuff, a Turn-broach, Fishing-Nets and Lines; in short, every thing except *Drugs*, which I believe, the Captain rather forgot, than maliciously kept from us: Besides this, every Man had his particular Goods, Necessaries and Provisions.

Peter Thomas, whom I have mention'd, having quarrell'd with the Captain, and fearing to return with him, resolv'd to stay in the Island, and that wou'd have made up the loss of one of our Companions who dy'd at Sea near *Mascaregne*, if the Captain, the Night before he left us, had not taken away two of our Company (*Jacques Guiguer* and *Pierrot*) so that we had but eight left.

When the Ship was gone, and each of us were well recover'd of the Fatigues of the Sea, we made the *tour* of the Island to see whether we cou'd discover any better Place to settle in, than that where we first Arriv'd; but we found 'twas much the same all over it, and even tho' there were about twenty several sorts of level Land, and almost as Commodious as Ours, yet we met with none that was not somewhat Inferior to it in Beauty and in Goodness; so that we resolv'd to stay in the place where we first sat down.

As soon as we had clear'd the Earth as much as was necessary for Tillage, we dug it, and sow'd our Grain. We had

[1] Fusee, a small, light musket or firelock, commonly written "fusil".

abundance, and of all sorts; but that which we brought from *Holland*, was spoil'd by the Air of the Sea, we having forgot to put it into Earthen Pots, and Seal them down well. We furnish'd our selves with other Seed at the Cape of *Good Hope*. Only five Seeds of Ordinary, and as many of Water-Melons came up; three of Succory,[1] three of Wheat, some Artichokes, Purslain, Turnips, Mustard, Gilly-flowers and Clover-grass. The Gilly-flowers rose high, but they did not blow, and at last they all perish'd.

The Turnips did the same, and were entirely destroy'd by the Worms before we cou'd eat them. The Melons which I call *Land*, to distinguish them from *Water*-Melons, came up almost without Culture in abundance, prodigiously Large, and excellently well tasted. I do not believe there can be better anywhere, and we found by Experience they had this rare Quality, that tho' one did eat of them a little to Excess, no Inconvenience happen'd afterwards.

We put 'em into all our Sauces, and they were admirable in all; We might have had them all the year long, but we observ'd that those which came up in the Winter, that is, when 'twas not so hot as at other times, towards the Months of *June* and *July*, were a great deal better than the others.

We thought at first we must expose them to the Sun, as we do in *France*, but we soon found they wou'd thrive better in the Shade, which we may suppose is caus'd by the difference of the Climate and Soil.

Among our five Plants of Water-Melons, there were two sorts, Red and White; the first were the best. The Rind was Green, and the inside Red; they are very Refreshing, and never do any hurt no more than the others: They are so full of Water, that one may easily go without Drink when they are eaten: Sometimes they were so big, that all Eight of us cou'd hardly eat up one of them.

[1] Or chicory (*C. intybus*), extensively used for adulterating coffee.

These several kinds of Melons grew without taking Pains about them, as I have said already, and produc'd Fruit in great Abundance. When we mingled a little Ashes with the Earth in the Place where they were Sown, it made 'em grow and fructifie extraordinarily, and the Fruit was more than ordinarily delicate. We had great hopes of our Artichokes. We cou'd almost see them grow. They spread very much, but they yielded very little Fruit. Indeed we cou'd not be sure that the Seed was true Artichoke Seed, tho' it had the figure of it, and the Plant was like that of an Artichoke. We brought it from the Cape of *Good Hope*, without knowing what it was. We did our utmost to make the sides of it whiten, but to no purpose, tho' we were not ignorant of the several ways of doing it. And we had as bad Success with the Succoury (*Chicorée*): It came up to a wonder, so did the Purslain and the Mustard-Seed; but do what we cou'd, we cou'd never take off its bitterness. Of three Grains of Wheat that came up, we cou'd preserve but one Plant: It had above 200 Ears, and we were full of Hopes that it wou'd come to something, but it produc'd only a sort of Tares,[1] which very much troubled us, as you may imagine; because we found our selves depriv'd of the Pleasure of eating Bread.

However we shou'd not from hence conclude, that Wheat Corn will always turn to Tares here, since in *Europe* such like Degenerations are often to be met with. And if our young Men instead of precipitately sowing all our Seed in one Place, and in one Day, had kept some for other Soils, and other Seasons, perhaps we might have had an ample Harvest, and better luck with all our other Grain.

The Air is very clear and healthy at *Rodrigo*, and none of us having been ill all the while we liv'd there, is a very good proof of it, considering the great difference of the Climate

[1] Professor Balfour suggests that this grain was not wheat, but might have been millet. (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxviii, p. 304.)

and Food. He who dy'd just as we were about to leave it, as I shall relate in the sequel of these Memoirs, was perfectly born down by the violence of Fatigue.

The Sky is always fair and serene, and the heats of the Summer very Moderate; because precisely at Eight a Clock in the Morning there rises every day a little North-East or North-West Wind, which agreeably cools the Air, and tempering the hottest Season, causes a perpetual Spring all the year round, and a continual Autumn, no part of it deserving the Name of Winter, insomuch that one may bath one's self at any time. The Nights are cool and refreshing; it seldom Rains, at least we saw no Rain, except for four or five Weeks after the Hurricane; that is, in *January* and *February*.[1] There fall great Dews, and frequently, which serve instead of Show'rs. As for Thunder,[2] which is so formidable in our *Europe*, and in several other parts of the World, I believe it was never heard in this Island.

'Tis as I have hinted, compos'd of lovely Hills, cover'd all with fine Trees, whose perpetual Verdure is entirely Charming. These Trees are very rarely entangled (*de broussailles*) one in another by the nearness and thickness of their Branches. They naturally form Ally's to defend us from the Sun's Heat; and the Prospect is every where adorn'd by the sight of the Sea, thro' the Boughs which are almost in all Places open enough, to admit a View of the vast Ocean between them.

At the foot of these Hills are Valleys, the Soil of which is the most excellent in the World, as we may easily conceive, if we consider it consists chiefly of rotten Trees; whose Matter being reduc'd to dust, is driven by the Floods

[1] "Une heure après que l'eau est tombée, on peut se promener comme à l'ordinaire." Omitted by translator after word *February*. The translator frequently makes such omissions.

[2] Thunder is rarely heard throughout the regions of the trade-winds.

down the Hills. This Mould is very light, and produces almost without Cultivating. It abounds in fruitful Juices.

The Valleys are cover'd with Palm-Trees, Plantanes (*Lataniers*), Ebony's, and several other sorts of Trees; the Beauty of whose Leaves and Branches may compare with that of the finest of our *European* Trees. In the low parts of these Valleys we frequently meet with Rivulets of fresh Water, whose Springs are all in the middle of the Island. These pure Streams are never dry, and so conveniently dispos'd for watering all this little Country, that nothing can be more Commodious. What pity 'tis that a Place so Delicious in all things, shou'd be useless to the Inhabitants of the World. I insist the more on these charming Rivulets, because there are a great many Islands that have none; and 'tis doubly a wonder to find so many here, and all so happily distributed.

Several of the other Rivulets besides that near which as I have said we built our Cabbins, form (*des Napes* &) Cascades by falling from the top of Rocks: I reckon'd seven Basons, and as many Cascades all together, and all form'd by the same River.[1]

There are abundance of Eels in these Rivers, some of

[1] The reviewer of Legnat's book in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for December 1707 (p. 611), calls attention to the very small rainfall being insufficient to supply the sources of the streams. This circumstance, and the fact of the remoteness of the island from any continent, would apparently, he adds, disprove the theory of those who maintain that all springs are dependent on rainfall, for the dews, though frequent, would not supply enough moisture for these perennial rivulets. Recent accounts give a somewhat different account of the climate. "The island," says Prof. Balfour, "is comparatively dry, the soil is parched and arid, and during the warm season many of the streams are dried up. But the size of the water-courses and the enormous boulders filling their beds indicate large torrents in the rainy season. In some places, issuing from the clay, springs occur, of which the water is brackish, has a very disagreeable taste, and is slightly tepid, but has no smell. As a rule the water of the streams is

them very big, and all excellently well tasted. We have taken some so Monstrous, (I am afraid to tell it) that two Men cou'd hardly carry home one of them; 'tis easie to catch them, for you can scarce put your Bait into the Water, before the Fish bite. This Water is seldom deep, and being very Transparent, we cou'd easily see these huge Eels creeping at the bottom; and if we pleas'd, might have taken them with a Harping-Iron (harpoon): We have sometimes shot them with a Fuzee[1] and Hare-shot.

The Valleys I am talking of, Water'd and made fertile by these little Rivers, extend themselves Insensibly as we draw nearer the Sea, and form a Level, which in some Places is two Miles[2] broad, and two long. The Soil of these little Plains is excellent eight or ten foot deep, and there those great and tall Trees grow, between which one may walk at ease, and find such refreshing coolness in their shade at Noon; so sweet, so healthy, that 'twou'd give Life to those that are dying. Their spreading and tufty Tops, which are almost all of an equal height, joyn together like so many Canopy's and Umbrello's, and jointly make a Cieling of an eternal Verdure, supported by natural Pillars, which raise and nourish them. This is certainly the Workmanship of a Divine Architect.

What is more Remarkable, is the greatest part of the

good and safe to drink, but that of some rivers, notably the river Saumâtre, is most unpalatable, and apt to cause slight catharsis.

"The climate is much like that of Mauritius, where the average annual temperature is 78° Fahr. During the north-west monsoon, from November to April, the weather is wet and warm, and frequently in the first months of the year the island is visited by severe hurricanes. From May to October the south-east monsoon prevails, and then the weather is cool and dry.

"The rainfall is exceedingly irregular, the hills being hardly high enough, and not sufficiently wooded, to arrest clouds; hence, also, fogs are rare." (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. clxviii, p. 292.)

[1] Cf. p. 55.

[2] In original, "two thousand paces". The breadth of these level valleys near the sea would, therefore, be one mile, *not* two, as in text.

Trees of this little *Eden*, are not less useful or necessary for the Conveniences of Life, than pleasant to the Eyes or the Mind. For Example, the several sorts of Palm-Trees and Plantanes are Admirable Magazines of Necessaries for those Sages, who Believe and Practise what *St. Paul* says. The Fruit of them is excellent, and the Water which the Trunks of these Trees yield, and which runs from its Spring without Preparation, is a kindly and delicious Liquor; some of the Leaves are good to eat, others serve instead of Silk or Linen. There are abundance of these wonderful Trees all over our Isle. Perhaps the Reader may expect that I shou'd explain my self a little on this Head.

I shall not undertake to give a Description of Palm-trees and Plantanes (*Latanicrs*), a Thousand and a Thousand Men having written of them, and I know there are above thirty[1] several sorts of them: Neither shall I enlarge in the Description of those I am speaking of, but give a small *Idæa* of them, for the sake of such as do not know what sort of Trees these are.

Our Palm-trees are commonly thirty or forty Foot high; their Trunk is straight, and without Leaves, but 'tis cover'd with a sort of prickly Scales, whose prickles stand out a little: Some have a smoother Bark than others. On the top of the Trunks grow those Boughs of Palm, of which no Man ever saw a lively Picture. These Boughs form a great Knot (*bouquet*), and fall down all about it in Plumes: Below these Boughs, or rather below the Trunk from which they grow, are produc'd long Bunches, each Fruit or Grain (*cst cerd*) as big as a Hens Egg, and of the same shape, known by the Name of *Dates*.[2]

[1] Botanists have now distinguished considerably more than a thousand species of palms, divided, according to Sir J. Hooker, into 132 genera.

[2] It is a difficult matter to decide what particular species of palm is referred to by Leguat. Prof. Is. Bayley Balfour, who visited Rodriguez with the Transit of Venus expedition (1874-5), made a special

In the center of this great Knot (*bouquet*), and at the Summet of the Trunk, is what we call the Cabbidge. One cannot see it, being hidden by the Boughs that rise a little all about it. This Summet consists of tender Leaves, which closely embrace each other, joyn together, and form a Mass something like that of a Cabbage Lettice, or common Cabbage; 'tis about two Foot high if the Tree is large, and of the same bigness with the Trunk. The large outside Leaves of this Mass are white, soft, pliable, and as strong as Buff, which it resembles. They will serve also for Linen, Satin, for Napkins, Table Cloths, and anything what you please. The Membrana or inside leaves are tender and brittle, like the Heart of a Lettice: They are good to eat raw, and tast like a Filberd; but we made an admirable Ragout of them when we Fricasi'd them with the Fat and Liver of a Turtle. We put them also in our Soops.

We come now to the Liquor, or rather the Nectar of the Isle of *Rodrigo*. 'Tis call'd Palm-Wine all over the *Indies*: There are two ways of drawing out the Juice. We make a hole in the Trunk of the Tree at about a Mans height, as big as ones two Fists. We presently put a Pot or other

study of the botany of this island. He says that Leguat probably included in his description two kinds of palm—*Dictyosperma album*, now very abundant in the island, and *Hyophorbe Verschaffeltii*. Part of his remarks would apply to one of these and part to the other, while his allusions to the fruit as big as a hen's egg, and the prickly scales on the trunk, would agree well with neither. "As pointing in this direction, I think," says Balfour, "we may take his remark, 'some have a smoother bark than others,' for the bark *Hyophorbe Verschaffeltii* is much smoother than that of *Dictyosperma album*."

This palm, *Hyophorbe Verschaffeltii*, called Palmiste marron (*i.e.*, wild Palmiste) by the Creoles, grows to a height of 25-30 feet and is spread over the whole island, but never occurs on the coralline limestone. It begins with a stem 6-12 ins. diameter at the base, bulging after a few feet, reaching 12-24 ins. in the middle, thence contracting upwards. If the tree be lofty, there may be a second ventricosity. (Cf. *Philosophical Trans. of the Royal Society*, vol. clxviii, p. 375 *seqq.*; *Flora of Mauritius and the Seychelles*, by J. G. Baker, F.L.S., 1877, p. 383.)

Vessel there to receive the delicious Liquor, which runs out fast enough, otherwise we dig (*creusions*) the Cabbage, and make a little Cistern at its Head. We need only go twice or thrice a Day, and draw this rare Wine at the Fountain Head, and we may be abundantly supply'd with it. The Wine of the Trunk, and that of the Cabbage, are in my Opinion of an equal goodness.

But those who wou'd be good Husbands of their Trees (for as for us we were lavish enough of them), the first way is the best, because after the Cabbage has yielded its Liquor for about a Month, it Withers, and the Tree decays and dies. 'Tis the same thing if you tear off the Cabbage, when its Head and Brain are gone it dies almost suddenly.

Whereas if you only pierce its Side, the Tree do's not die, provided the Wound is not too deep; but the Liquor will not run out at that Hole above four Days: The wounded Tree must afterwards have time to recover. I do not know what is done elsewhere, but I can tell by Experience what I have said here, we having made trial of it daily for two years together. The Bark of this Tree is very hard, 'tis an Inch thick, Porous and Tender in the Inside. If one make the Hole on the side of the Trunk too wide, there is reason to fear 'twill weaken the Tree there, and that then the next Hurricane will break it.

The Plantane[1] (*Latanier*) is a sort of Palm-tree, and the Arborists place it in the same Class. Our Plantanes have a

[1] The word "Latanier" in the original has been throughout the narrative mistranslated "plantane". It is evidently the fan-palm (*Latania Verschaffeltii*) that Leguat is describing here. Prof. Balfour says it is found in every part of the island, where it is put to a variety of uses. The wood is very hard and durable, of a rich mottled black appearance, and used for building huts, though now this is interdicted, as the trees are becoming more scarce. The leaves are chiefly used for thatching huts, and are also made into baskets. The fibres of the petiole form a very excellent material for cordage, and the reticulum is also put to various uses. (Cf. *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxviii. p. 374.)

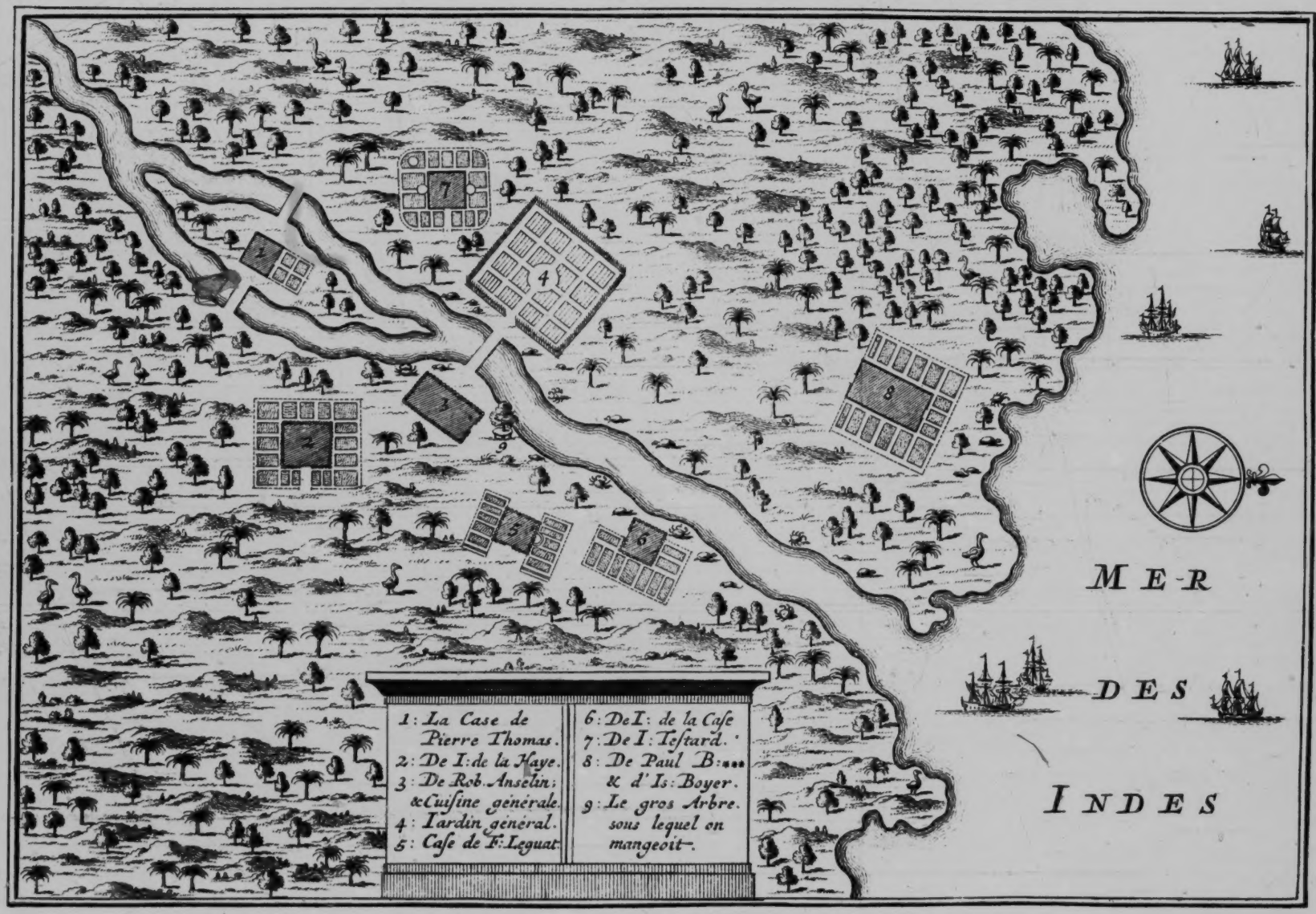
straight Trunk, which seems to be form'd of large Rings at an equal Distance. They have no such prickly Scales as I have talkt of. At the top of the Trunk is a Cabbage, very like to that I have describ'd. At the foot of this Cabbage instead of Palm Boughs are broad Leaves, with Stalks about six or seven Foot long: These Leaves are strong and thick, and like a Fan when 'tis open; the Sticks of which come a little out of the Circumference, and are pointed at the end. Some of these Leaves are eight Foot Diameter, insomuch that they serv'd to make fine Coverings for our Cabbins. We cut 'em out into little pieces, and made Hatts and Umbrello's (*parasols*) of them. The Stalk is four Inches broad, an Inch thick and a little roundish at the sides; at the bottom where it joyns to the Tree, it widens, and grows like a flat Shell which sticks to the Trunk, and in part embraces it. This wide and hollow Plate (*patte*) is sometimes above a Foot Diameter, and of the thickness of a [illegible]-Piece. We made use of it for Dishes, Plates and Saucers. The first Rind of the Stalk serv'd us instead of Ribs, and the Fibres of the second made good Thread to Sew with. One might have wove Stuffs with it, had it been [illegible].

We could not perceive any difference in the Tast, or in any other qualities (*entre le vin*) of the Palm-tree or Plantane. This Liquor is whitish like white Wine, and so sweet, that no other sweetness, if I may judge of it, can compare to it: The newer it is, the more agreeable. In three or four days it begins to turn Sowre, and in seven or eight, 'tis as sharp as the strongest Vinegar without changing its Colour.

The Dates of the Plantane (*Latanier*) are bigger than those of the Palm-tree. Having abundance of better things to feed on, Fish and Flesh, Fruits, etc., we left the Dates for the Turtles and other Birds, particularly the *Solitaries*, of which we shall hereafter make mention.

About the Cabbage of the Plantane, near the bottom of it

PLAN DE L'HABITATION


1: La Case de Pierre Thomas.
2: De I: de la Haye.
3: De Rob. Anselin; & Cuisine générale.
4: Iardin général.
5: Case de F: Leguat.
6: De I: de la Case
7: De I: Testard.
8: De Paul B:... & d'Is: Boyer.
9: Le gros Arbre. sous lequel on mangeoit.
MER
DES
INDES

and between the Stalks of its broad Leaves, is a sort of Cotton of a Limon Colour, which all thro' *India* is known by the name of *Capoc*.[1] We made very good Quilts (*matelas*) of it. It may be Wove, and Manufactur'd for all the Uses that Cotton is put to: Perhaps we might have thought of making a sort of stuff, both of the *Capoc* and the Fibers of our Plantane Leaves; but we had Stuff enough of our own to serve a long time, and the Air is so mild, so sweet, that we did not make much use of our Cloaths. Happy for us had we sav'd them; for the time when the Persecution of a New *giv'n of God*,[2] whom we shall speak of expos'd us to a thousand Miseries on the fatal Rock, whither that wicked Man banish'd us.

There are several other kinds of Trees in this Island, which yield tolerable Fruit. Those that bear a sort of Pepper,[3] are not a little like Plum-trees of a moderate size: Their Leaves are much like that of the Jessamine; they bear their Fruit in little Bunches, and it did very well in our Sauces.

The Sea having thrown us up some Cocos which began to bud, we planted some of that Fruit some Months after our Arrival, and when we left the Place, the Trees were four Foot high.

I leave it to the Reader to guess how these Cocoes,[4] some

[1] *Capoc*, a sort of cotton so fine and so short that it cannot be spun. It is used in the East Indies to line palanquins, and to make beds, mattresses, cushions, pillows, etc. (Rees' *Cyclopædia*.)

[2] A play on the name of Diodati, or Deodate, the Governor in Mauritius, who subsequently persecuted and imprisoned Leguat.

[3] Professor Balfour supposes this plant to have been either *Capsicum frutescens*, abundant everywhere in the island, or *C. cordiforme*, not common (*l. c.*, pp. 303, 360). But it seems scarcely probable that Leguat's pepper was a capsicum, which bears a long, pod-like fruit or seed, whereas he compares that of his plant to a small plum.

[4] A few trees of *Cocos nucifera* occur in the compound of Government House at Port Mathurin. Leguat's remark that the cocoa-nuts thrown up on his island came from St. Brandon, better known as the Cargados

of which weigh'd five or six Pound, can be thrown on the Coasts of *Rodrigo*, and come three or four score Leagues by Sea without Corrupting. For we are very certain they come from the Isle of *Ste. Brande*, which is to the Windward, to the North-East of Ours, and at least as far off as I have said.[1]

The Sea brings in nothing but from that side, from whence we may conclude, there are certain Currents which contribute very much together with the Wind and Tide to throw abundance of things on the Coast.[2] We may therefore suppose, these Fruits were blown off from the

Garajos, in lat. 16° 25′ south, and between long. 59° and 60° east, is difficult to reconcile with the circumstance of the prevailing south-east monsoon setting the current in an opposite direction, *i.e.*, towards this group from Rodriguez. There are, however, more singular instances of drift on record, *e.g.*, the Keeling Islands, whose flora is almost wholly derived from islands in the Indian Archipelago, though the direction of the winds and currents would hardly seem to render such a thing possible. Compare Darwin's remarks on this subject in *Voyage of the Beagle*, vol. iii, p. 542, and Chamisso, in Kotzebue's first voyage (vol. iii, p. 155).

[1] Here our author is in error; the Cargados Garajos (*vide* note on p. 65) are to the *north-westward* of Rodriguez, and about 300 miles distant from it. These islets, of which there are said to be sixteen in number, lie off a dangerous bank of coral sand. It was with reference to their position that an acrimonious controversy raged, towards the end of the last century, between the Abbé Rochon and M. d'Après de Manevillette, a well-known hydrographer, the Abbé having placed St. Brandon fifty leagues to the eastward of Cargados Garajos. Later surveyors have, however, succeeded in establishing their identity. According to Sir E. Belcher, who visited the group in 1846, the fishermen there have a way of calling every white stone above water a St. Brandon. The southernmost of these isles, Coco Island, owes its name to its having been formerly covered with these trees, of which only two remained in a perishing condition at the time of his visit. St. Brandon is noted for the beautiful scarlet coral, the *Tubifora musica*. (Cf. Findlay's *Sailing Directions for the Indian Ocean*, p. 454; Pike's *Sub-tropical Rambles*, pp. 423-4; *Voyages à Madagascar*, par Alexis Rochon, 1802, tome i, ch. xlvi.)

[2] "Dans la saison de l'Ouragan, on pourroit dire que le tourbillon auroit enlévé ces fruits dans l'isle de Ste. Brande."

Isle of *Ste. Brande*, very far into the Sea; and from thence brought to us by the Tide and the Currents.

There's a wonderful fine Tree at *Rodrigo*, whose Branches are so round, and so thick, 'tis impossible for the Sun-Beams to penetrate thro' it: Some of these Trees are so big, that two or three hundred People may stand under them, and be shelter'd from the Sun or the Weather.[1]

The vast Extent of it is occasioned thus. Some of the great Branches naturally tend downwards, and reaching the Ground take Root, and become new Trunks themselves, which make a sort of little Forest.

The first time I saw this Tree, I remember I had read in some Voyages, that they are to be met with every where in the *Indies*, and in the Continent and Isles of *America*. I do not think there's any of them in *Europe*. The Eastern Idolaters have a great Respect for them, and commonly build their *Pagods* under them.

[1] There can be little doubt that Leguat's description and the authors he cites point to the banyan (*Ficus indica*). Its great height and the vast area it covers with its interlacing branches, the curious way these have of taking root and forming new stems, are all characteristic of this remarkable tree, which has been a favourite theme of writers in prose and verse in all ages, from the days of Pliny to our own times.

But, though indigenous to India, Southern Persia, and Ceylon, the banyan is foreign to the Mascarene flora. We may suppose, therefore, either that it was formerly extant and has become extinct in Rodriguez, or that Leguat referred to some other species of *Ficus*. Balfour describes two—*F. consimilis* and *F. rubra*—found by him on that island, where they are both common, but adds that neither of them is the one described by Leguat. Baker mentions these and several other species in his *Flora of Mauritius* (pp. 283 *seqq.*), and Sir Henry Barkly informs the writer that there is a large tree of *F. consimilis* in Seychelles, and that the bats feed on its fruit precisely as Leguat describes at Rodriguez; but the size of the leaves and fruit is much smaller than his species. (*Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, p. 368; Balfour's *Timber-Trees of India*, p. 117; Helmsley's *Vegetation of Diego Garcia*, in *Linn. Soc. Journal*, vol. xxii. p. 334.)

La Boulaye le Gouz writes,[1] that this sacred Tree is call'd *Kasta*, and that the *Indians* say, 'tis cherish'd by the Saints; because their God *Pan* diverts himself with playing upon the Flute, under the shade of its broad Leaves.

The same Author adds, that no Man dares pull off one of those Leaves for fear of dying within the year; and refers his Reader to what *Herodotus* and *Quintus Curtius* have said on the same Subject. *Tavernier*[2] also speaks of it, and tells us the *Persians* call it Lull, but that the *Franks* have giv'n it the Name of the *Banians* Tree; because the Penitents of the *Faquors* and *Banians* dress their Meat, and pay their Devotions under this Tree. Mr. *de Rochefort* calls it *Pare-*

[1] *Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye-Le-Gouz, etc.*, Paris, 1653, 2nd ed., 1657. This author, whose tour in Ireland in 1644 was edited in English by Croker in 1837, was born in the early part of the seventeenth century. He travelled extensively in the East, and died in Persia in 1668. The genuineness and impartiality of his remarks on men and things earned for him the reputation of "a very honest fellow". The passage in his above-mentioned work referring to the banyan-tree is in chapter xvii (pp. 183 *seq.* of 1st edit.). He figures the tree with a native Indian seated below, a cow and a pagoda, while above is a quaint representation of the sun. He mentions camping several times under its shade while on the journey from Surat to Goa, and remarks that Rama or Brahma taught the Indians to venerate it. The followers of this divinity, however, mingling superstition with their worship, declared that anyone plucking its leaves would die within the year. Milton described it as follows:—

> ". . . there soon they chose
> The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
> But such as at this day to Indians known
> In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root and daughters grow
> About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
> High overarch'd, and echoing walls between."
>
> (*Paradise Lost*, Book IX.)

[2] Cf. Tavernier's *Persian Voyages*, Book V, ch. xxiii, 1682 ed., vol. i, p. 614. This traveller also figures the banyan, stating that the Persians call it *Lul*, the Portuguese "arbre de Reys", and the French "l'arbre des Banianes".

tuvier[1] in his *Natural History of the Antilles*,[2] and says, its Leaves are broad, thick and long, without saying any thing of the Fruit: And the two Voyagers before mention'd, tell us nothing either of the Fruit or of the Leaves.

The *Rodrigo Kastas*[3] (for I ought to keep the *Indian* Name at least in the *Indies*) bear Leaves as broad as one's Hand, pretty thick, and somewhat like that of a Lilach or a Heart in shape, they are softer than Satin to touch. Their Flower is white, and smells well: Their Fruit is red and round, and as big as a black Damask Plum. Their Skin is hard, and within it is a thin Seed, a little like that of a Fig. The Fruit is not prejudicial to Health, but 'tis insipid. The Batts commonly feed upon it, and multitudes of them nest in the tufted Branches of this Tree.

The Wood of all the Trees in this Island, is generally hard. We made this Observation in building our Cabbins; The Timber we us'd about them, in a few Weeks after 'twas cut, wou'd be full of Worms, till to prevent that Inconvenience, we let it lie three Weeks in the Sea, and then the Worm never came into it.

There is a Tree we call the *Nasty* Tree,[4] because it stunk:

[1] *I.e.*, *Paletuvier*, the mangrove, a very different tree.

[2] The title of this rare book is given on page 17, *supra*.

[3] The name *Kasta*, to which Leguat, following La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, attributes an Indian origin, is Portuguese, meaning no more than our word "caste", which is derived from it. Of course, the caste-tree would not be an inappropriate name for the *Ficus religiosa*, which has always been an object of superstitious reverence among the Hindus. (Cf. Dr. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*; Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[4] Prof. Balfour has no doubt but that the tree referred to by Leguat as the "nasty tree" is *Clerodendron laciniatum*, the *Bois cabri* of the Creoles, a small tree easily recognised by its disagreeable odour, which has occasioned its popular name. The wood is very white and close-grained, but is not put to great use, save for burning, probably on account of the odour. Some have thought that Leguat referred to the Bois puant (*Fatidia Mauritiana Lam.*), but the odour of that tree, though exceedingly objectionable, is only apparent when the sun shines

'Tis the best Wood of all for Carpenters use, but 'twas of no Service to us; for it stinks so, that it makes all the Places about it smell of it, and the Smell is very Offensive.

We did not find in this Island any Plant, Tree, Shrub, or Herb, which grows naturally in any part of *Europe*, that was known to us, except Purslain,[1] which is small and green. There's plenty of it in some Places of the Valleys, and that which we sow'd having brought some of the Seed from the *Cape*, came up exactly like the Purslain of the Island.

We saw no four-footed Creatures, but Rats, Lizards, and Land-Turtles,[2] of which there are different sorts. I have

upon it, and is evanescent, and not at all like the persistent odour which the Bois cabri emits. (Balfour, in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. clxviii, p. 364, and Plate xxxii; and cf. Baker, *l. c.*, pp. 255 and 120.)

[1] *Portulaca oleracea*, Creole name *Pourpier*, is common in waste ground, and especially abundant on the barren ground towards the west of the island. (*Balfour, l. c.*, p. 328.)

[2] According to Admiral Kempenfeldt, who visited Rodriguez in 1761, the land-turtle was the best production of the island. Small vessels were constantly employed in transporting them by thousands to Mauritius for the service of the hospital. The principal objects of interest in Rodriguez then were: First, the house of the Superintendent appointed by the Governor of Mauritius to direct the cultivation of the gardens and to overlook the park of land-turtles; secondly, the park for the land-turtles, which is on the sea-shore, facing the house. As long as Rodriguez was in the hands of the French, these tortoises were protected. (*History of Mauritius, etc.*, by C. Grant, Viscount de Vaux, 1801, pp. 100-101.) "But early in the present century the work of extermination appears to have been accomplished," remarks Dr. Günther, "and there is at present of the Rodriguez tortoise not a single living example in the island or in any other locality.

"In 1874 the Presidents of the Royal and Geographical Societies addressed a memorial to the Governor of Mauritius, Sir Arthur Gordon, requesting him to preserve the last remnants of the nearly extinct race of Mascarene tortoises, which still survive in the island of Aldabra.

"Among the bones collected by the naturalist of the Transit of Venus Expedition, 1874-5, some, far exceeding in size the majority of their kind, are not rare, and prove that the Rodriguez tortoise was quite equal in bulk to *Testudo elephantina*, many individuals having had a carapace four and a half feet long." (A. Günther, in *Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, pp. 452 *seqq.* See Appendix and supplementary note.)

seen one[1] that weigh'd one hundred pound, and had Flesh enough about it, to feed a good number of Men. This Flesh is very wholsom, and tasts something like Mutton, but 'tis more delicate: The Fat is extreamly white, and never Congeals nor rises in your Stomach, eat as much as you will of it. We all unanimously agreed, 'twas better than the best Butter in *Europe*. To anoint one's self with this Oil, is an excellent Remedy for Surfeits, Colds, Cramps and several other Distempers. The Liver of this Animal is extraordinarily delicate,[2] 'tis so Delicious that one may say of it, it always carries its own Sauce with it, dress it how you will.

The Bones of these Turtles are Massy; I mean they have no Marrow in them. Every one knows, that these Animals in general are hatch'd of Eggs. The Land-Turtles lay theirs in the Sand, and cover them,[3] that they may be hatch'd[4]: The Scale of it, or rather the Shell, is soft, and the Substance within good to eat. There are such plenty of Land-Turtles in this Isle, that sometimes you see two or three thousand of them in a Flock; so that one may go above a hundred Paces on their Backs; or, to speak more properly on their *Carapaces*, without setting foot to the Ground. They meet together in the Evening in shady Places, and lie so close, that one wou'd think those Places were pav'd with them. There 's one thing very odd among them; they always place Sentinels at some Distance from their Troop, at the four corners of their Camp, to which the Sentinels turn their Backs, and

[1] In orig.: "J'en ai vu qui pesent," etc.

[2] "Et fort gros à proportion de l'animal; car une tortue qui n'a que quinze livres de chair, a le foye de cinq à six livres," omitted in translation.

[3] In orig.: "& les en couvrent, pour les faire éclorre doucement au Soleil."

[4] "Ces œufs sont ronds en tous sens, comme des billes de billard, et de la grosseur des œufs de poules," omitted in translation.

look with the Eyes, as if they were on the Watch. This we have always observ'd of them; and this Mystery seems the more difficult to be comprehended, for that these Creatures are uncapable to defend themselves, or to fly.

We have also great plenty of Sea-Turtles here: Their Flesh tasts like Beef, that of the Breast is admirable. The fat is as good as Veal Marrow, but being green, it has something the Air of an Ointment, which at first renders it Nauseous. This fat is not only delicate, but wholsom, and purges gently. The *Indians* make use of it as a Soveraign Remedy in the Venereal Disease.[1]

The Sea-Turtles are prodigious big, we have seen some that weigh'd above 500 Pound. When we wou'd take them, we turn'd them on their Backs by strength of Arms, or with Leavers; and when they are overturn'd, 'tis impossible for them to get up again. They lay their Eggs in sandy Places near the Sea, and always in the Night-time; they make a hole about three Foot deep, and a Foot broad for that purpose: The greatest of them will lay near two hundred in less than two Hours. They cover them with Sand, and in six Weeks time the Sun hatches them: As soon as they are hatch'd, all these little Animals which are not so big as a Chicken, just coming out of the Shell, go directly to the Sea, do what you will to hinder them; they are generally hatch'd in an Hour's time. We have often, to divert our selves, carry'd some of them a quarter of a League off on the Mountain, and as soon as we put them on the Ground, they immediately went directly to the Sea. They then go faster than when they are grown bigger.

The Fools, the Frigats, and several other Birds which lie in wait for them upon Trees, destroy abundance of them when they are so young; insomuch, that hardly ten in a

[1] "Quand on a mangé de cette graisse (voudra-t-on bien que je le dise?) l'eau qu'on rend est d'un verd d'émeraude admirable," omitted by translator.

Hundred of them are sav'd. Yet there are such prodigious Numbers, that 'twou'd have amaz'd one if we had not consider'd, every Turtle lays two thousand Eggs a year at times, that they have multiply'd thus from the beginning of the World, and perhaps have not met with any Destroyers but our selves.

Their Eggs are not quite so good to eat, as those of the Land-Turtles, neither is their Flesh so Delicate. They are of the same shape, and the white both of the one and the other cannot without a great deal of difficulty be chang'd; but in length of time it changes so entirely, that it turns quite yellow.[1] The Liver of the Sea-Turtle hath not at all the Tast of that of the Land; besides, 'tis very unwholsome, it smells offensive like bad Oil[2]: 'Tis Rank, and rises in the Stomach a good while after it is eaten.

These Animals feed upon Weeds at the bottom of the Sea, and never come a-shoar but to Lay. And I must observe here, *en passant*, that before that time they couple for nine days together without Disjunction.

Their Fat remains Liquid when 'tis melted, and tasts Admirably, as well as that of the Land-Turtles. It may be made use of in all sorts of Sauces, either for Flesh or Fish.

The Turtle is a dull, heavy sort of a Creature.[3] It can live without eating a whole Month, provided 'tis discharg'd of the burthen of its Eggs, and you water it from time to time with some Pails of Sea-Water.

[1] In orig.: "et le blanc des uns et des autres ne se cuit que très difficilement; et même à la longue il se dissipe absolument de sorte qu'il ne reste proprement que le jaune." The translator's rendering of this passage is nonsense.

[2] "Ou une espèce de sauvagin," omitted in translation. "Sauvagin" is applied to the smell of whale-blubber.

[3] In original: "La Tortue a le sang froid." This evidently applies to the actual temperature of the blood, and not to the phlegmatic disposition of the animal, as the translator makes it appear: later on Leguat distinguishes the Lamentin as having hot blood. (*Infra*, p. 74.)

The Lamentins,[1] which other Nations call *Manati*, that is *having Hands*, abound in the Sea about this Isle, appearing often in numerous Troops. Its Head is extreamly like that of a Hog, whatever is said in Mr. *Corneille's*[2] *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences;* for in the Article of this Fish, of the difference of Palm-Trees, and several other things that have fallen within my Knowledge; he is apt to erre frequently and grosly, as is the least imperfect Dictionary that ever was. He borrows the Heads of an Ox, of a Mole, of a Horse and a Hog, to Compose that of a Lamantin; and in this case falls into the same Confusion, which happens to all that undertake to describe things they never saw, and have no distinct *Idæa* of. As for my self, I have seen, and carefully and nearly examin'd several; wherefore I say again, that not only I, but my Companions also found the Head of a Lamentin was altogether very like that of a Hog, excepting that its Snout was not so sharp.

[1] This animal was evidently the *Halicore dugong*, now extinct in the Mascarene waters, an innocuous herbivore, without fear of man, easily captured, and therefore soon extirpated by the sailors in want of fresh meat. (See supplementary note.)

"Where is the *Rhytina* of Behrings' Island? Absolutely abolished from the face of the earth! Where are the *Manatees* that played in the waters of the Antilles? . . . Where are the Dugongs of Rodriguez, so charmingly described by Leguat? Vanished! Where are the Sea-elephants of Ascension, Tristan d'Acunha and the Crozettes? So hunted down that it is not worth a skipper's while to seek them! Where are the countless and mighty Otaries that Péron found in Bass's Straits? Not there assuredly! . . . Surely it is time to stop such wanton, such short-sighted destruction." (Professor Newton on "Extermination of Marine Mammalia", *Nature*, December 11, 1873, p. 112; *Mammalia, Recent and Extinct*, by A. W. Scott, Sydney, pp. 52 *et seq.*)

[2] This M. Corneille was Thomas, the younger brother of Pierre, the great Corneille. He composed this *Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences* at the request of the French Academy, as a supplementary work to the Academy's *Dictionary*. The article on Lamentins, by Thos. Corneille, was solely concerned with the American Lamentin, and not with the Dugong described by Leguat. (Muller's note on p. 92 of modern French ed.)

The greatest of them are about twenty Foot long, and have no other Fins but the Tail and two Paws. The Body is pretty big down to the middle, and a little below it, the Tail has this in Particular with the Whales[1]; that its breadth is Horizontal, when the Animal lies on its Belly. The Blood of this Creature is hot, its Skin is Black, very rough and hard, with some Hairs, but so few, they are scarce perceivable. Its Eyes are small, and it has two holes which it opens and shuts, and for that reason may be call'd (its) Gills and its Ears. Because it often draws in its Tongue, which is not very great, several have assur'd me it has none. It has Hind-Teeth,[2] and even Tusks like a Boar, but no Fore-Teeth: Its Jaws are hard enough to bite Grass,[3] its Flesh is excellent, and tasts something like the best Veal: 'Tis very wholsom Meat.

The Female has Tets like Women's; Some say it brings forth two young ones at a time, and gives them Milk together, carrying them both at its Breast with its two things like Hands[4]: But since I have never seen it hold but one, I encline to believe it bears no more at once.

I never saw this extraordinary Nurse,[5] without remembring with double Reason my own Condition, that of an

[1] This remarkable order of aquatic mammalia, now known as *Sirenia*, was formerly classed with *Cetacea*, with walruses and seals by others, and even with elephants by De Blainville. (See supplementary note.)

[2] In orig.: "Il a des dents mâchelières," *i.e.*, molars.

[3] In orig.: "pour arracher et pour brouter l'herbe."

[4] In orig.: "avec ses deux espèces de mains."

[5] This habit of the female *Lamentin*, described by Leguat, confirms the opinion, before mentioned, that it is the *Halicore Dugong*. When the female Dugong is nursing her young one, she carries it on one flipper and takes care to keep the head of her offspring, as well as her own, well above the surface of the water, thus presenting a strangely human aspect. These creatures are most affectionate, and if one of a pair be captured, the other falls an easy prey, as it refuses to leave the dead body of its companion. Some of these animals attain to a length of over seven feet in Ceylon. (See Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*, 2nd edit., ii, pp. 557 *et seq.*)

Exile, and that Passage of the Prophet *Jeremy*, in his Lamentations, where he there Complains thus. *Even the Sea-Monsters*[1] *draw out the Breast, they give suck to their young ones; (but) the Daughter of my People is become cruel like the Ostriches in the Wilderness.* (Lamentations, iv, 3.)

This Fish is very easily taken, it feeds in Herds like Sheep, about three or four foot under Water; and when we came among them did not fly, so that we might take which we wou'd of them, by either Shooting them,[2] or falling upon them two or three at a time upon one without Arms, and pulling it a-shoar by main force. We sometimes found three or four hundred together feeding on the Weeds at the bottom of the Water, and they are so far from being Wild, that they wou'd often let us handle them to feel which was fattest. We put a Rope about its Tail, and so hale it a-shoar. We never took the greatest of them, because we cou'd not master them so easily, and they might perhaps have master'd us: Besides, their Flesh is not so Delicate as that of the little ones.

Their Lard is firm and excellent, no body that ever saw and tasted the Flesh, took it for any thing but Butchers Meat. This poor Animal dies as soon as it has lost a little Blood. We discover'd that they were to be met with in these Seas, by finding one dead on the Shoar some Months after our Arrival on the Island. We did not observe that this Creature ever came to Land: We imagin'd it might be thrown there, for I do not take it to be Amphibious.

We found several other sorts of Fish, and all different from those of *Europe*, except Oysters and Eels.

We easily caught Sea-Eels with a line, as well as Fresh-Water. Between the Shelves,[3] and the dry Land, there

[1] The *Halicore tabernaculi* was well known to the Jews, as its *habitat* was in the Red Sea, on the coral reefs, described by Rüppell. See Tristram's *Natural Hist. of the Bible*, pp. 44, 152.

[2] In orig.: "le tirer à bout touchant avec un fusil."

[3] In orig.: "brisans," reefs.

are certain spaces of Ground which are cover'd when the Tide is in, and dry when 'tis out. In this Extent there are Ditches or sorts of Reservatories, which the Sea has dug, and which remain always full of Water, and also full of Fish. 'Tis there that we fish'd with Ease and Pleasure; for the Water being very clear, we cou'd see the Fish catch greedily after the Bait; and sometimes there wou'd be a kind of Battel about it, who shou'd bite first; insomuch that we might catch abundance in a very little time.

The fishing with a Net is not less Diverting, for we had the pleasure of taking a great number of Fish, whose Variety was very agreeable.

About a thousand Paces from our Lodges there was a Creek, which was full of Sea-Water (at high tide), and at its entrance we cast our Net; so that when the Sea went out, abundance of Fish remain'd dry, and we took up what we pleas'd, letting the rest go, as long as there was Water enough to carry them.

We had also another Creek on the other side of our Cabbins, and full of Oysters, sticking to the Rocks. We went often to Breakfast there, and brought some home, with which we made an excellent Ragout with Palm-Tree-Cabbages and Turtles fat.

Of all the Birds in the Island, the most Remarkable is that which goes by the Name of the *Solitary*,[1] because 'tis very seldom seen in Company, tho' there are abundance of them. The Feathers of the Males are of a brown, grey Colour: The Feet and Beak are like a Turkeys, but a little more crooked. They have scarce any Tail, but their Hind-part cover'd with Feathers is Roundish, like the Crupper of a Horse, they are taller than Turkeys. Their Neck is straight, and a little longer in proportion than a Turkeys, when it lifts up his Head. Its Eye is black and lively, and its Head without Comb or Cop.[2] They never fly, their Wings

[1] See Appendix.

[2] In orig.: "sans crête ni houpe."

are too little to support the weight of their Bodies; they serve only to beat themselves, and flutter[1] when they call one another. They will whirl about[2] for twenty or thirty times together on the same side, during the space of four or five Minutes: The Motions of their Wings makes then a noise very like that of a Rattle; and one may hear it two hundred Paces off. The Bone of their Wing grows greater towards the Extremity, and forms a little round Mass under the Feathers, as big as a Musket Ball: That and its Beak are the chief Defence of this Bird. 'Tis very hard to catch it in the Woods, but easie in open Places, because we run faster than they, and sometimes we approach them without much Trouble. From *March* to *September* they are extremely fat, and tast admirably well, especially while they are young, some of the Males weigh forty five Pound.

The Females are wonderfully beautiful, some fair, some brown; I call them fair, because they are of the colour of fair Hair: They have a sort of Peak like a Widow's cap[3] upon their Breasts, which is of a dun Colour. No one Feather is stragling from the other all over their Bodies, they being very careful to adjust themselves, and make them all even with their Beaks. The Feathers on their Thighs are round like shells at the end, and being there very thick, have an agreeable effect: They have two Risings on their *Craws*,[4] and the Feathers are whiter there than the rest, which livelily Represents the fine Neck of a Beautiful Woman. They walk with so much Stateliness and good Grace, that one cannot help admiring and loving them; by which means their fine Mein (*i.e.*, mien) often saves their Lives.

Tho' these Birds will sometimes very familiarly come up

[1] In orig.: "pour faire le moulinet."

[2] In orig.: "Ils font avec vitesse vingt ou trente piroüettes tout de suite, du même côté, pendant l'espace de quatre ou cinq minutes."

[3] In orig.: "bandeau."

[4] Craw—Dutch *Kraag*, Swed. *Kräfva*, Germ. *Kragen*—the crop of fowls.

near enough to one, when we do not run after them, yet they will never grow Tame: As soon as they are caught they shed Tears without Crying, and (obstinately) refuse all manner of Sustenance till they die.

We find in the Gizards of both Male and Female a brown Stone, of the bigness of a Hens Egg,[1] 'tis somewhat rough, flat on one side, and round on the other, heavy and hard. We believe this Stone was there when they were hatch'd, for let them be never so young, you met with it always. They have never but one of 'em, and besides, the Passage from the Craw to the Gizard is so narrow, that a like Mass of half the bigness cou'd not pass. It serv'd to whet our Knives, better than any other Stone whatsoever.

When these Birds build their Nests, they choose a clean Place, gather together some Palm-Leaves for that purpose, and heap them up a foot and a half high from the Ground, on which they sit. They never lay but one Egg, which is much bigger than that of a Goose. The Male and Female both cover[2] it in their turns, and the young is not hatch'd till at seven Weeks end: All the while they are sitting upon it, or are bringing up their young one, which is not able to provide for its self in several Months,[3] they will not suffer any other Bird of their Species to come within two hundred yards round of the Place: But what is very singular, is, The Males will never drive away the Females, only when he perceives one he makes a noise with his Wings to call the Female, and she drives the unwelcome Stranger away, not leaving it till 'tis without her Bounds. The Female do's the same as to the Males, whom she leaves to the Male, and he drives them away. We have observ'd this several times, and I affirm it to be true.

The Combats between them on this occasion last some-

[1] See Appendix, and Plate No. x.

[2] In orig.: "le couvent."

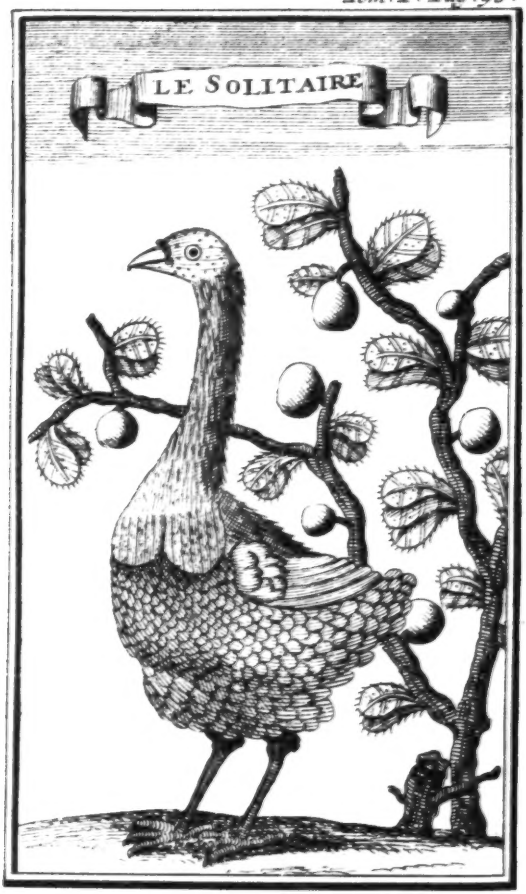
[3] In orig.: "qu'après plusieurs mois."

times pretty long, because the Stranger only turns about, and do's not fly directly from the Nest: However, the others do not forsake it, till they have quite driv'n it out of their Limits. After these Birds have rais'd their young One, and left it to its self, they are always together, which the other Birds are not, and tho' they happen to mingle with other Birds of the same Species, these two Companions never disunite.[1] We have often remark'd, that some days after the young one leaves the Nest, a Company of thirty or forty brings another young one to it; and the new fledg'd Bird with its Father and Mother joyning with the Band, march to some bye Place. We frequently follow'd them, and found that afterwards the old ones went each their way alone, or in Couples, and left the two young ones together, which we call'd a *Marriage*.

This Particularity has something in it which looks a little Fabulous, nevertheless, what I say is sincere Truth, and what I have more than once observ'd with Care and Pleasure: neither cou'd I forbear to entertain my Mind with several Reflections on this Occasion. I sent Mankind to learn of the Beasts. I commended my *Solitaries* for marrying young (a piece of Wisdom practis'd by our *Jews*) for satisfying Nature in a proper time; and when she wants to be satisfy'd according to the state of the same Nature, and conformable to the intention of the Creator. I admir'd the Happiness of these innocent and faithful Pairs, who liv'd so peaceably in constant Love: I said to my self, if our Pride and Extravagance were restrain'd, if Men were or had been as wise as these Birds, to say all at once, they wou'd marry as these Birds do, without any other Pomp or Ceremony, without Contracts or Jointures, without Portions or Settlements,[2] without subjection to any Laws, and without any Offence, with which

[1] "Mais ils demeurent toujours unis et compagnons quoiqu'ils aillent quelquefois se mêler parmi d'autres de leur espèce," omitted in translation.

[2] In orig: "Sans Mien sans Tien."


LE SOLITAIRE

Nature wou'd be most pleas'd, and the Common-Wealth most benefited; for Divine and Human Laws, are only Precautions against the disorders of Mankind. Know, kind Reader, that my chief Employment in this Desart Island was thinking, and suffer me therefore sometimes to speak my Thoughts. I have already giv'n you notice, that you were not to expect a Dissertation on the *Antiquity* of *Greek* Accents, nor on Manuscripts of our *Eden*, nor on the Medals found there, any more than Descriptions of its Amphitheaters, Palaces and Temples.

Our Wood-hens[1] are fat all the year round, and of a most delicate Tast. Their Colour is always of a bright Gray, and there's very little difference in the *Plumage* between the two Sexes. They hide their Nests so well, that we cou'd not find 'em out, and consequently did not tast their Eggs. They have a red List[2] about their Eyes, their Beaks are straight and pointed, near two Inches long, and red also. They cannot fly, their fat makes 'em too heavy for it. If you offer them any thing that's red,[3] they are so angry they will fly at you to catch it out of your Hand, and in the heat of the Combat, we had an opportunity to take them with ease. We had abundance of Bitterns,[4] as big and as good as

[1] In orig. "Gelinotes", an extinct form of *Rallidæ*, closely allied to the *Aphanapteryx* of Mauritius. Cf. *Recherches sur la faune ancienne des îles Mascareignes*, par Alph. Milne Edwards in *Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.*, 5me série, t. xix, art. 3, and, by the same author, *Sur les affinités zoologiques de l'Aphanapteryx, etc.*, *op. c.*, x, 325.

[2] In orig.: "ourlet rouge autour." Anglo-Saxon *List*; Icel. *listi* or fillet: a list of cloth is the outer edge or border.

Cf. Shakespeare, "Gartered with a red and blue list." (*Taming of the Shrew*, iii, 2.)

[3] M. Milne Edwards proposes the name *Erythromachus*, *i.e.*, "Hostile to red," for this genus, and has named the species here described after our author, *E. Leguati*. But Messrs. Günther and Newton prefer looking upon the Rodriguez bird as a smaller species of *Aphanapteryx*, and to treat of it as *A. Leguati*. Cf. *Phil. Trans.*, *op. c.*, p. 431. *Vide* App.

[4] In orig. "Butors". The bitterns mentioned seem to have been night-herons, *Nycticorax megacephalus*. This night-heron was clearly

Capons; they are more familiar, and more easily to be caught than Woodhens.

The Pigeons[1] here are somewhat less than ours, and all of a Slate colour, fat and good. They pearch and build their Nests upon Trees; they are easily taken, being so Tame, that we have had fifty about our Table to Pick up the Melon-Seeds which we threw them, and they lik'd mightily. We took them when we pleas'd, and ty'd little Rags to their Thighs of several Colours, that we might know them again if we let them loose. They never miss'd attending us at our Meals, and we call'd them our Chickens. They never built their Nests in the Isle, but in the little *Islets*[2] that are near it. We suppos'd 'twas to avoid the persecution of the Rats, of which there are vast Numbers in this Island, as I shall report in the Sequel of this Relation. The Rats never pass into the Islets. The Fools,[3] the Frigats[4] and perhaps some other Sea-Birds who live upon Fish only, build their Nests on Trees; but[5] there are some other

"of much more cursorial habits", write Messrs. Günther and Newton, "than its congeners, chasing rather terrestrial animals (lizards) than aquatic." (*Phil. Trans., l. c.*, 436.)

"The effect of the prolonged isolation on the two vertebrate-hunting birds of Rodriguez, the owl and the night-heron, was precisely the same. Without losing the power of flight, they became brevipennate; but the increased development of the legs compensated for the reduction of this power, and enabled the one to destroy animals of larger size when the smaller kinds become scarcer, and the other to chase its swift-running prey." (*Philosophical Transactions, op. c.*, p. 436.)

[1] *Columba rodericana*. This pigeon, now extinct, was probably of the genus *Erythræna*, being of a slate colour (*ardoisé*), and not the *Turtur picturatus* of Madagascar, Réunion, and Mauritius, as suggested by M. Milne Edwards. (*E. N.*)

[2] These islets all received names subsequently. See p. 86, *infra*, and a later account of Rodriguez (1730), *Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.* (6), ii. art. 4.

[3] The "Booby", probably *Sula piscator*, a species of gannet.; but cf. Alph. Milne Edwards, in *Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.*, 6me série, t. ii, art. 4.

[4] "Les Paille-en-queue," omitted in translation. See next page.

[5] In orig.: "les ferrets et quelques autres." These birds are described later, in Part II.

Birds that sit on the Land, in the same Isles where the Pigeons nest. All these Birds have a rank Taste, which is not agreeable; to make amends their Eggs are very good. The Fools come ev'ry Night, and Roost in the Island; and the *Frigats* which are larger, and so call'd because they are light, and admirable Sailers,[1] lie in wait for them on the top of the Trees, from whence they flounce down upon them like Falcons on their Prey, not to kill them, but make them bring up the Fish that is in their Craw, which the Fool as soon as it is thus struck, is forc'd to do. The Frigat catches it always before it comes to the Ground. The Fool cries, and sometimes is very unwilling to part with its Prog, but the Frigat who is a bolder and stronger Bird, laughs at its Cries, mounts into the Air, and down he flounces again upon it, seizes upon the Throat, and do's so till he has compell'd it to obey.

The Frigat[2] is blackish, and about the bigness of a Duck. Its Wings are very large, 'tis a sort of Bird of Prey; for it has Talons, and its Beak which is above half a Foot long, is a little crooked at the end. The old ones of the Males, have a kind of red Flesh like a Comb under its Neck, as our Cocks have. The *Fools* are so call'd because they inconsiderately come about Ships, Perch on the Ropes, and innocently suffer themselves to be easily taken. Their Simplicity is so great, that they judge of others by themselves, and do not take Men to be Mischievous Creatures. Their Backs are of a Chesnut Colour, their Bellies whitish, their Beaks sharp, four Inches long, and big towards the Head, a little indented at the Edges. Their legs are short, their feet like those of a Duck, and of a pale Yellow.

There's another sort of Bird[3] as big as a Pigeon all over

[1] In orig.: "bons Voiliers."

[2] The Frigate, or man-of-war bird (*Tachypetes aquila*, or *T. minor*).

[3] *Le Paille-en-queue*, the Tropic bird (*Phaethon candidus*); according to Milne Edwards, *P. Phœnicurus* and *P. flavirostris*. These birds are

white, its Beak is short and strong, it has a Feather at its Tail a Foot and a half long, from whence it takes its Name being call'd *Straw-Tail*. These Birds made a pleasant War upon us, or rather upon our Bonnets; they often came behind us, and caught 'em off our Heads before we were aware of it: This they did so frequently that we were forc'd to carry Sticks in our hands to defend our selves. We prevented them sometimes, when we discover'd them by their shadow before us: we then struck them in the Moment they were about to strike us. We cou'd never find out of what use the Bonnets were to them, nor what they did with those they took from us.

I shall speak of the *Tag* and the *Pluto* in *Maurice* Island. There's but one sort of small Birds[1] at *Rodrigo*, they are not much unlike Canary Birds; we never heard them sing, tho' they are so familiar, that they will place themselves on a Book which you hold in your hand.

There are abundance of green and blew Parrets,[2] they are

still very abundant in those regions (*Ann. des. Sc. nat. Zool.*, *op. cit.*, 5me série, xix, art. 3, and 6me série, ii, art. 4). Another red-tailed species (*Phaethon rubricauda*) breeds on Round Island, near Mauritius.

[1] Two indigenous species of small birds were collected by Sir E. Newton on Rodriguez in 1864. These were described by him as *Foudia flavicans* and *Drymœca rodericana*, and specimens of both were brought home by the naturalists of the Transit of Venus Expedition in 1874. Sir E. Newton identifies Leguat's small birds with *Foudia flavicans*, but notices that they had "a very pleasant song", in contradiction to his statement that "we never heard them sing". M. Milne Edwards, however, laying more stress on Leguat's words, is of opinion that his small birds were neither *Foudia flavicans* nor *Drymœca rodericana*, and that these may have been of more recent introduction. Leguat's canaries, he thinks, have shared the fate of the solitaries and wood-hens—*i.e.*, become extinct. (Cf. *P. Z. S.*, 1865, p. 47; *Ibis*, 1865, pp. 147 *et seq.*; *Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, p. 459; *Ann. des Sc. nat: Zool.* (5), xix, art. 3, and (6), ii, art. 4.)

[2] M. Milne Edwards has shown, in a memoir published some years ago, that there were great parrots at Rodriguez of a species which neither exists there nor in any other part of the globe. These were distinct from *Agapornis cana* and *Palæornis exsul*, and furnish additional proof

J.G. Keulemans lith.

M & N Hanhart imp.

PALÆORNIS EXSUL

of a midling and equal bigness; when they are young, their Flesh is as good as that of young Pigeons.

There are Purrs[1] and a few Swallows.[2]

The Batts[3] fly there by day as well as other Birds; they are as big as a good Hen, and each wing is near two Foot long. They never Perch, but hang by their Feet to the Boughs of Trees, with their Head downwards, and their Wings being supply'd with several Hooks, they do not easily fall tho' they are struck.[4] When you see them at a Distance, hanging thus wrapt up in their Wings, you wou'd take them rather for Fruit than Birds. The *Dutch* whom I knew at *Maurice* Island, made a rare Dish with them, and preferr'd it to the most Delicate Wild-Fowl. Every Man has his Tast; As for us, we found something in these Batts that we did not like, and having a great many things that were much

of changes having taken place in the fauna of that island. See his *Mémoire sur un Psittacus fossile de l'île de Rodrigue* (*Psittacus rodericanus*) in *Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.* (5), viii, 145. The parrots, however, referred to in our text were of moderate size, and may probably have been *Palæornis exul*, of which a living specimen was seen in the island by Mr. Slater in 1874. (Cf. *Phil. Trans. R. S.*, *l. c.*, pp. 430 and 459.)

[1] Purrs, probably a species of sandpiper, or perhaps small plovers, for Leguat could not distinguish them.

[2] In orig.: "Il y a des allouettes de mer et des Becassines. Nous n'avons vû que très-peu d'hirondelles."

[3] Flying-foxes, *Pteropus Edwardsii*. Pingré, who touched at Rodriguez in 1761, during his voyage for the observation of the Transit of Venus, gives some interesting details on these flying-foxes. Those he saw were the size of a pigeon, but longer; the head like that of a fox; the skin reddish, darker on the head and neck than on the rest of the body; the wings dark grey; when extended they may have measured a foot or a foot and a half. These animals are still extant at Rodriguez, but no materials have hitherto been accessible for their identification. M. Milne Edwards is inclined to think they are not *Pteropus Edwardsii*, a much larger species inhabiting Madagascar, nor *Pteropus vulgaris* of the island of Mauritius, also a larger type. (*Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.*, 5me série, xix, art. 3.)

[4] "Elles demeurent toujours attachées par quelque crochet," omitted by translator.

better, at least in our Opinion, we never eat any of these filthy Creatures. They carry their young about with them[1]; We observ'd they had always two.

The Palmtrees and Plantanes are always loaden with Lizards[2] about a foot long, the Beauty of which is very Extraordinary; some of them are blue, some black, some green, some red, some grey, and the colour of each the most lively and bright of any of its kind. Their common Food is the Fruit of the Palm-Trees. They are not mischievous, and so Tame, that they often come and eat the Melons on our Tables, and in our Presence, and even in our Hands[3]; they serve for Prey to some Birds, especially the Bitterns. When we beat 'em down from the Trees with a Pole, these Birds wou'd come and devour them before us, tho' we did our utmost to hinder them; and when we offer'd to oppose them, they came on still after their Prey, and still follow'd us when we endeavour'd to defend them.

There's another sort of Nocturnal Lizards[4] of a grayish

[1] "& ne les abandonnent que lors qu'ils peuvent voler," omitted by translator.

[2] Possibly, Dr. Günther thinks, a species of *Phelsuma*, a genus well represented in the Mascarene region. (*Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, p. 454.)

[3] The fact of there being lizards at Rodriguez is another proof of its being zoologically distinct from Hindustan, for though several kinds of these reptiles are found in Ceylon, there are none in the adjacent continent. With reference to the tameness of lizards, Sir E. Tennent relates the following anecdote: "In an officer's quarters, a gecko had been taught to come daily to the dinner-table, and always made its appearance along with the dessert. The family were absent for some months while the house underwent repairs; but on the return of its old friends, at their first dinner, the little lizard made its entrance as usual as soon as the cloth had been removed." (Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, 186.)

[4] Probably, according to the authority quoted above (n. 2), the species of which Mr. Slater collected, with remains of the solitaire and tortoise, several bones. He recognised them as the remains of a lizard, possibly belonging to the family of Skinks. In Dr. Günther's opinion it is a geckoid lizard, which cannot be separated from the genus Gecko. He concurs in the proposal of Mr. Slater to name it, after Sir E. Newton, *Gecko Newtonii*. (*Ibid.*)

Colour, and very ugly; they are as big and as long as ones Arm, their Flesh is not very bad, they love Plantanes. We found Salt enough in holes on the Rocks upon our Coasts, and had the Island been full of Inhabitants, they might have been supply'd there. The Waves throw up the Sea-water in their Agitation, and the Sun, that admirable Workman of all the Metamorphoses of Nature, turns it into Salt. The Sea brings yellow Amber and Ambergreece.[1] We found a great piece of the latter, which we did not know, and which prov'd the cause of all the Misfortunes that happen'd to us afterwards, as will be related in the sequel of this History. We found also abundance of a sort of black Bitumen, to which we gave the name of Amber, but I believe 'tis properly Jet.

There's a certain admirable Flower[2] in this Island, which I shou'd prefer to *Spanish* Jessamine, 'tis as white as a Lily, and shap'd something like common Jessamine. It grows particularly out of the Trunks of rotten Trees, when they

[1] "La mer apporte de l'ambre jaune, & de l'ambre gris." The Arabic term *Amber* was first given to the remarkable secretion formed in the intestines of the spermaceti whale, and subsequently to the fossilised gum now generally known by that term. These two substances, both mysterious products of the sea, were, in the seventeenth century, distinguished only by their colour as *ambre gris* and *ambre jaune*. Ben Jonson asks—

> "Why do you smell of ambergrise,
> Of which was formed Neptune's niece?"
>
> (*Neptune's Triumph.*)

Whilst Milton speaks of game—

> "In pastry built, or from the spit or boiled
> Gris-amber steam'd."
>
> (*Paradise Regained.*)

[2] A marked feature in the Flora, Professor Balfour states (*op. cit.*, p. 304), is the paucity of *Orchidaceæ*. Only four species have been determined; a fifth, a species of *Angræcum*, was found, but in too imperfect a state for identification. Professor Balfour knows of no plant on the island answering to Leguat's description, and can only suppose it to refer to some species of orchid, which has now passed away. A sweet-smelling orchid, *Angræcum fragrans*, is found in the Mascarene Islands.

are almost reduc'd to the Substance of Mould. The Odour of this Flower, strikes one agreeably at a hundred Paces distance.

The Air of this Isle will not suffer Lice or Fleas, as one may be assur'd by Experience after such a Voyage as ours. Neither were we troubled by any stinging Flies, nor other Insects that are so troublesom in the Night, or rather so intolerable, in other Places.

In those little Islands[1] before-mention'd where the Pigeons build, there are an infinite number of Sea-Fowl; their Flesh (is) not pleasant to the Taste, nor very wholesom, but their Eggs are very good. There's such abundance of these Birds,[2] that when they rise, the Sky is even darken'd by them.

They hatch on the Sand, and so near one another that they touch, tho' of different Kinds. These poor Creatures are so Tame, and so little Diffident, that they will not rise tho' you are almost upon them. They lay three times a year, and but one Egg at a time, like the *Solitaries;* which is the more Remarkable, for that if I am not Mistaken, we have no Example of any thing like it among our *European* Birds. I shall add one very particular thing which I observ'd in some of these Birds in *Maurice* Island, when I come to treat of that Isle.

Thus have I related the most considerable Observations we made in and about the Island of *Rodrigo.* I must now,

[1] These little islets are noticeable both in Leguat's sketch map and the Admiralty charts, facsimiles of which have been given for comparison. It will be seen that these islets extend from Booby Island (55 feet) on the north, round the west side of the island within the reefs to Port South-East, Crab Island being the highest of them (150 feet). Their names, Booby, Pierrot, and Frigate, etc., indicate their being the homes of land-birds and sea-fowl. It is not easy to identify any particular islet in Leguat's map.

[2] Probably terns, several species of which breed on the islets round Rodriguez. (Cf. *Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, pp. 463 *et seq.*)

to give the Reader a true *Idæa* of the Place, take notice of the disagreeable and inconvenient things in it: I shall begin with what we first saw. As soon as we Landed, we were surrounded by a prodigious Number of certain little Flies which cover'd us. 'Twas in vain to kill them, for after you had bruis'd ten Thousand of them to pieces, they wou'd be no more mist, than ten drops of Water in the Sea. 'Tis true, these little Creatures did not sting; all the Inconvenience they put us to was a little tickling when they touch'd our Faces. They retire to the Trees as soon as the Sun is down, and leave them when it Rises. They always seek shelter, and the mild cooling Breeze; and after we had fell'd the Trees about the Place where we built our Cabins, it expos'd them so much to the Wind, that it drove 'em to the Woods, and deliver'd all the extent of our Habitations entirely from them. But we met with them every where when we walkt out into the Island.

There's also a kind of great Flies which do not fear the Wind as the others do, and are very Troublesom. Their Bellies are full of Worms, which they lay on our Meat, and sometimes let 'em fall as they fly along, so that those Provisions quickly tainted, when, instead of leaving them open to the Air, we wrapt them up in Linen. The only means we found out to cure this Evil, was to dip them in Sea-Water from time to time. The Nerves or Fibres of the Stalks of our Plantane-Leaves wou'd have made an excellent fine Trellis which those Flies cou'd not Penetrate, and with which we might have made a *Safe* to secure our Meat, but we did not think of that Machine.

The Rats were our second Plague, they are like those in *Europe*, are very Numerous, and very Troublesome.

They did not only eat the Seed we sow'd, but came into our Cabbins, and nibbled everything they found there. I am apt to doubt whether Mr. *de Rochefort* was well inform'd when he wrote there were no Rats in the *American* Islands

before our Discoveries there[1]; for I have often found in the Relation of Voyagers that they met with prodigious quantities in Desert and unknown Islands. It's not impossible that some Ship might have touch'd, or been cast away there: but let our Modern Philosophers say what they will, I have very good reason to believe, that Rats as well as other kind of Vermin are engender'd sometimes by Corruption, tho' they are also brought forth by the common way of Generation. If 'tis the good pleasure of God, the Great Master of the Universe, that it shou'd be so, what shou'd hinder Rats being found in those Islands where never any vessel was?[2]

Whereas the *Americans* have Adders which are naturally bent to exterminate this Villanous Race, as also Cats and Dogs that are taught to make War upon them, we had nothing to assist us but Owls[3] and Traps. We soon banish'd them from our Quarters, by the help of the latter; however we must own, that a new Multitude sometimes return'd, and found us new Work to clear them. The most ready and sure way of getting rid of great Numbers of them, wou'd be to lay poyson'd Meat for them; the Island not being very big, this wou'd soon have a very good Effect; and nothing could come of it that we needed apprehend, if it happen'd before the Isle was well setled.

1 De Rochfort, in speaking of the various inconveniences to be met with in the Antilles, says that it was only after ships began frequenting these islands that rats multiplied to such an extent as to injure the crops and vegetables; previously they were unknown to the Caraib Indians. (*Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles*, L. de Poincy et C. de Rochfort, 2nd edit., 1865, p. 277.)

2 The rats were probably of recent introduction. Vessels had touched at the island before Leguat's time on their way to India.

3 The owls of Rodriguez are now extinct, but some bones found in one of its caves by Sir E. Newton in 1874 attest Leguat's veracity. These bones belong to two species, for one of which M. Alph. Milne Edwards proposes the name of *Strix* (*Athene*) *muricora*; of the other only one bone, a tibia, having been produced for examination, no specific name could be given. (*Ann. des Sc. nat. Zool.* (5), xix, art. 3.)

The several Inconveniences occasion'd by these Animals when they come thus by Armies, render Credible what is said of that young *English* Adventurer (Richard Whittington, in the year 1397) who made his Fortune by a Cat which he carry'd out of his Country by chance, and which he presented to a Lord in some Island in the *Indies*. This little Prince charm'd with the Cat's admirable Hunting, liberally Rewarded him who brought it; and who having set a high Price upon it, return'd Rich to *London*, and became Lord Mayor. He is often to be seen painted with his Cat in his Mayors Habit, and serves for one of the *Signs* in that City.

The Land-Crabs[1] were our next Enemies. 'Tis impossible to destroy them, there's such a prodigious quantity of them in the low Grounds, and 'tis very difficult to get them out of their Holes.[2] Their Burroughs are very broad, and have several Entrances; they never go far from them, standing always upon their Guard.

They tore up our Plants in our Gardens day and Night, and if we shut up the Plants in a sort of a Cage in hopes of saving them, if they were not far off, they wou'd dig under Ground from their Burroughs to the Plants, and tear them up under the Cage. The back Scale or Shell of this Crab is of a dirty Russet Colour, is almost round, and about four Inches Diameter. They march directly with eight Claws or Paws, about four Inches from the Ground, and have two that are indented of an unequal Bigness, as we know all sorts of Crabs have, the Right Claw or Paw being bigger and

[1] The land crabs described in our text appear to be allied or identical with *Birgus latro*, which Darwin observed in the Keeling Islands. He speaks of their burrowing habits and of their being provided with "very strong and heavy pincers", with which they crack the cocoa-nuts (*Voyage of the Beagle*, iii, p. 551). Messrs. Gulliver and Slater collected 189 specimens of crustaceæ at Rodriguez, representing thirty-five species. (*Phil. Trans.*, *l. c.*, p. 485.)

[2] "Elles se logént en terre, & creusent, jusqu'à ce qu'elles ayent trouvé de l'eau," omitted by translator.

stronger than the rest. You cannot see the Mouth of one of them when it goes along, because it is downwards, but its Eyes are much like those of the Crabs in *France* and *England*, are a good Inch one above another on the Brink, and without the Shell.

When one approaches it, it presently retires; but when we throw Stones after it, 'twill always run after the Stones, by which it is easily struck; 'tis dangerous venturing to be pinch'd by it. This Animal often cleans its Hole, and after having made a little heap of the Ordures it finds there, it carries them out by Pressing them against its Belly with its Claws. This it do's often, and with so much nimbleness, that it soon removes what is Troublesom to it. Its Flesh is pretty good, and tasts something like River-Crabs.

A little before and after the Full-Moons in *July* and *August*, these Crabs march by Millions, from all parts of the Island to the Sea. We never met with one but what was laden with Eggs. We might then have destroy'd great quantities of them with ease, for they go in prodigious Troops, and being far from their Burroughs, have no place of Retreat. We have sometimes kill'd above three Thousand in an Evening with Sticks, yet we cou'd not perceive the next Day, that their Number was at all Diminish'd. The Second year of our abode in this Isle, we thought of a way to rid our selves of them, in some measure; which was, by Sowing abundance of Seed in the places where they most Inhabited; that finding Occupation enough at Home, they might save our Plants, which if they had time to grow to any bigness, were out of danger. This helpt us a little, and we were so cautious as to Sow those Plants which we were willing to Cultivate, in Places they did not frequent, as well in our Gardens, as in Hills far from the Rivers where the bottom was Rock.

One of our Companions who at all ventures had brought two great Chests of Merchandise with him, which were in

demand in *India*, and also a good quantity of *louis d'ors*, but was at least as Diffident as Rich, was pleasantly caught by one of these little Beasts. His Pistoles were in several Purses; and we observ'd, if he went at any time a little way from his Cabbin, he took them along with him. He never fail'd to hide them every Night before he went to Bed, in the safest place he cou'd think of; but as cunning as he was he found one that was as cunning as he, and was bubbled[1] by a Thief, he did not think of, I mean, some Crab or Rat that took away one of his Purses from him; which being of Leather,[2] was no doubt very agreeable to the Robbers Tast. The next day we perceiv'd he was Chagrin, and search'd for something with great Application; we prest him to tell what he had lost, and at last through Importunity, or hoping we wou'd help him in finding it, he told us the whole truth of the Matter. Tho' we cou'd not forbear Laughing a little, we however went about with him to seek it, but all our seeking signify'd nothing, and the Person Rob'd was forc'd to comfort himself for the Robbery. 'Tis true, he ever after made War[3] upon the whole Nation of Crabs, and we assisted him in it. He never kill'd one without giving him some blows after he was dead.

The Sea-Crabs are much better[4] than the Land, and the Flesh easier to Digest.

There's also another sort which I am inform'd goes by the

[1] To bubble, *i.e.*, to cheat, from It. *bubbola*, a hoopoe; in orig. "fut la dupe", from the French for the same bird, from some tradition of the habits of that bird of which we are ignorant. A familiar instance of the use of the noun is the "South Sea bubble." Cf. Wedgwood's *Dict. of Eng. Etymology*; Nares' *Glossary*.

[2] In orig.: "dont le cuir étant un peu gras," etc.

[3] In orig.: "Il est vrai qu'il eut une permanente rancune contre toute la nation des crabes, et que dans la guerre que nous leur faisons souvent, il n'en tua jamais aucune," etc.

[4] "Et beaucoup plus grosses, . . . et la chair en est aisée à digerer."

Name of *Tourlourous*[1] in the *Antilles*, and are very like the first Crabs I spoke of, but somewhat less. They dwell between the Sea and the Land like true Amphibious Creatures, as they are; insomuch that the Sea twice a Day fills their Holes with Water, and they are continually at work to keep 'em clean.

The Hurricanes[2] which we were terrify'd with every year, in the Month of *January* or *February*, as I have already noted, is also a dreadful Enemy. We felt its rude Attacks twice. This furious Wind rises commonly after fair Weather, and even after a great Calm; and its greatest Violence lasts at least an Hour. We then saw several huge Trees torn up by the Roots in a Moment, and our Cabbins utterly overwhelm'd. The Sea Raging and Foaming roar'd so, that it frighted us; and lifting up its foaming Waves like Mountains, dashed 'em against the Coasts with so much Impetuosity, that it seem'd as if Nature was in such Convulsions, as wou'd soon reduce her to her Original Chaos. Heaven and Earth mingled, a thick Darkness involv'd the Sky, and the Clouds breaking discharg'd a Deluge of Rain, like that which immerg'd the first World. Our fair and fruitful Valleys were immediately drown'd, and look'd like a new Ocean. The Torrent overwhelm'd every thing that lay in its way; and I believe if this Violence had lasted three Hours,

[1] De Rochfort, in his work on the Antilles (p. 253), mentions three kinds of crabs under this name, applying it in particular to the smallest of the three. These crabs have a red shell with a black spot on it, are agreeable to the taste, but, being small and producing dysentery, are not in much request.

[2] In original: "curagan" (cf. p. 36, *supra*). Rodriguez lies right in the paths of the cyclones which traverse the southern Indian Ocean. There is no positive law for their tracks, but, from the averages observed, it seems that they nearly all pass from E.N.E. to W.S.W., but, from longitude 80° E. westward and when approaching the Mascarene group, they have a tendency to curve southward, frequently backing to E.S.E. when they reach the southern tropic.

Dr. Meldrum has noticed that when the Mascarene Islands suffer from drought the Indian Ocean is almost free from hurricanes.

there was not a Tree in the Island that could have resisted it. The Beasts by a natural Instinct of Gracious and wise Providence, foresaw these Storms before they happen'd, and sav'd themselves in the Cavities of the Mountains; but the next Day they appear'd abroad as before, for the Weather return'd to be as fair and clear as ever The last Hurricane we felt at *Rodrigo*, was much more terrible than the first. In the midst of its greatest Fury, there was a sudden and profound Calm, not the least Noise was heard, and we believ'd all was over, when immediately the Storm return'd with more Violence than ever. It entirely destroy'd all our Gardens; for the force of the Wind rais'd up the Waters of the Sea, and blew about ev'ry where a deluge of Salt Water that burnt up or kill'd all our plants. But it doing no hurt to the Soil at bottom, as soon as we got out of the Holes of the Rocks to which we fled we sow'd more Plants, and they came up as before.

In fine, The fourth and last Enemy we had to Combat with, were little green Caterpillars, which always come after a Hurricane, and are certainly one of its secret Productions. These Insects troubled us very much, from the Month of *February*, to that of *April*; for they eat up our Melons, not leaving a Leaf on the Trees. Experience taught us the way to prevent it, which was by covering 'em all Night, and uncovering them in the Morning; Glass Bells wou'd have been a good Buckler for them. These Vermin did not touch our Succory, nor our Purslain; and we may therefore reasonably conclude, that there are several sorts of other Herbs and Plants which they will not meddle with, as not being to their Gust.[1]

In some Places we met with little Scorpions, especially on the Plantanes; but we did not find that they were any way dangerous, because we were several times stung by them.

[1] "Gust", Lat. *gustus*, relish, taste; cf. Shakespeare, "Allay the *gust* he hath in . . ." *Twelfth Night*, ii, 3.

without any Inconvenience afterwards. It only caus'd a little Pain for a Moment or two, like the prick of a Pin.

When we bath'd our selves in the Sea, or when we were oblig'd to walk in our Fishing, we were often surrounded with a great Troop of Sharks, among which some were very great, yet we were never attack'd by them. And when we were on that fatal Rock of the Isle *Maurice*, which I shall say more of hereafter, I have a hundred times seen a great Pack of Dogs follow a Stag into the Sea, and Swim after him in places where were abundance of Sharks; yet they never did them any hurt, any more than they did us when we were Bathing. Let the Reader therefore judge, whether this is such a Voracious Animal as 'tis represented to be, or whether the Sharks in these Seas are different from those in others. The Relations of such as have made Voyages to *America*, and several other parts of the World, tell us unanimously, that the Sharks in those Seas are extreamly dangerous and ravenous, and several Persons speak as if they had been Eye-Witnesses of it; wherefore 'tis most reasonable to conclude, that all the Sharks are not of the same kind.[1] This Fish is commonly fifteen or sixteen Foot long; its Mouth is so made, that it must necessarily turn upon its Back to swallow its Prey, or must thrust half its Head out of Water; it has several rows of Teeth, which are extreamly sharp, and like those of a Saw. I was told at *Batavia*, and elsewhere, that the Brain of a Shark had a Virtue in it, which made Womens Pains in Child-Bed not so racking to them, as they generally are; but we cou'd not try the Experiment in our Island. Some say, the little Fish which we call Succet,[2] or the Shark's Pilot, is his Guide, but that's

[1] All the known species (140) of sharks except four are carnivorous. Those observed by Leguat had doubtless ceased to be dangerous to man, owing to the abundance of animal food round the island. Forty years later we read a very different account of them; far from being harmless, they were then extremely aggressive and of great size. (*Gunther, l. c.*, p. 315; *Ann. Sc. nat. Zool.* (6), ii, art. 4.)

[2] Sucking-fish, *Echeneis remora*.

a Chimera, which Father *Tachard*[1] has very well Confuted. This Succet which is reasonably enough thought to be the Rhemora, those good Men of old (who are venerably call'd Antients,[2] and who often did not know very well what they said) have render'd so famous and formidable. This Succet, I say, has on its Head, and on the forepart of its Neck a grisly Membrane flat, & in Folds by which it sticks fast to the Back of the Sharks and Sea-Dogs, and sometimes to inanimate things as Wood; for we have seen it stick to the Deck of the Ship with its Belly upwards.[3] There are at least two sorts of them, different in Bigness and Colour, but shap'd alike; they have no Scales, and their Skin is as slick and slippery as an Eel's. Those of the biggest sort are two or three Foot long; the colour of their Backs is a greenish Brown, which towards the Belly turns whitish. The others are not longer than Herrings, hardly so long. Their Snouts are shorter, and not so dark Colour'd. The Flesh of both the one and the other is not firm, but 'tis not ill tasted. They are very well provided with Fins, and are thin and long; so that they dart into the Sea like an Arrow out of a Bow. Their Teeth are a little round at the end, and so short, they are scarce perceptible. 'Tis most certain that these Fish often stick to the Ships in the Water, and

[1] Père Guy Tachard. See *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites*, Amsterdam, 1687-9, liv. i, p. 41.

[2] Our author is probably referring to Aristotle and Pliny, who described the Echeneis and attributed to this little fish the power of fastening itself to vessels, and so arresting their course. Thus, it was alleged, Antony's ship was delayed getting into action at the battle of Actium (cf. Rondelet, *Livre des Poissons*, p. 313). Ten different kinds of sucking-fish are known, of which *Echineis remora* and *E. naucrates* are the most common. (See Günther's *Study of Fishes*, p. 460.) An excellent specimen of this remarkable fish may be seen at the South Kensington Natural History Museum. Our author confuses the sucking-fish with *Naucrates ductor*, the pilot fish, which is said to follow large sharks.

[3] In orig.: "quand il est tout sortant de l'eau," omitted by translator.

when they do it in a great Number, they doubtless hinder her Course, because she cannot run so lightly over the Waves. I was the more willing to speak of this Animal at large, for that others have not done it; and I cannot help saying, *en passant*, that I sometimes wonder at the mighty Reputation the Famous *Rondelet* acquir'd; for I never consulted him concerning any thing within my Knowledge, but I found him very false and very dry.[1]

All our Employment as long as we staid in this Island was very Insignificant, as may be easily imagined; however, we cou'd not live without doing something. The looking after our Cabins, and Cultivating our Gardens, took up one part of our Time, Walking, another. We frequently went to the South of the Island, either in crossing it, or going about it; there's no Place upon it, but we Visited very nicely; none of the Mountains or Hills are without Verdure, tho' they are very full of Rocks. The bottom which is Rock, is spread with two, three or four foot Earth, and amongst the Stones where there's no appearance of Earth, great Trees tall and straight grow, which at a distance gives one a better *Idæa* of the Island than it deserves, because one wou'd think it was compos'd of a Soil universally Excellent.

One may go every where all over it with ease, there being

[1] Our author is rather too severe in his criticism. Rondelet was Doctor Regent in Medicine at the University of Montpellier, and published several important works on natural history. He was a good observer, a diligent student, and a skilful anatomist. The work by which he is best known is that on fishes, entitled *De Piscibus marinis libri* xviii, *in quibus vivæ piscium imagines expositæ sunt*. Lyon, 1554. It was translated into French and published in 1558. This edition is illustrated by numerous woodcuts, evidently executed by a skilful artist, and drawn with great fidelity to nature. With the exception of a few that Rondelet could only have known by hearsay, they may be recognized at the present day. The original work is dedicated to Cardinal Tournou, whom the author accompanied on his travels in the capacity of physician. Rondelet died in 1566 at the age of 59. (*Biographie Universelle.*)

few or no parts of it, which are not very Accessible, and no Place but affords abundantly Meat and Drink. Go where you will, and if you see no Game, you need only strike against a Tree, or cry out as hard as you can, and Game will immediately offer it self of all sorts, which you may knock down with a Stick or Stone. 'Twas Chance made us experience this, because when we walkt out together and wander'd in the Woods, if any one of us lost Company with the rest, we were forc'd to cry aloud to let him know where we were, that he might come to us. We were then amaz'd to see what quantities of Birds flew out, and ran up and down from all parts about us; Providence as it were bid us *Kill* and *Eat*,[1] and we had nothing to do but to fire a Fuzee, and roast what we kill'd to provide a Feast; Turtles are to be met with every where. The Air is so sweet and so temperate, that one might lye down boldly under the Canopy of the Sky; but if we pleas'd, might at any time make a sort of Hutt immediately with five or six Plantane-Leaves which we have spoken of.

To return to our Employments, and the manner of spending our tedious Hours, I shall add without Boasting, that we had every day our exercises of Devotion. On Sundays we did as far as we cou'd what is practis'd in our *French* Churches, for we had the Bible entire with us; some Hymns, a large Commentary on the Testament, and several Sermons upon the *Old Rock*, which were sensible Discourses. If we had believ'd we shou'd spend the rest of our Days there, or at least stay some longer time than we did, or intended, what shou'd have hinder'd the Wisest among us from taking upon him the Ministerial Office; and that these two or three meeting together, and in the Name of God, shou'd not have form'd a true Church, and have receiv'd those particular Consolations which are participated in the Holy Communions.

[1] The Acts x, 13: "And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill, and eat."

I often thought of proposing it to my Companions; but on one hand, I saw they were all dispos'd to endeavour suddenly, at the hazard of their Lives, to return into the inhabited World. On the other I had reason to fear there wou'd be thought some kind of Affectation in that Design, which they wou'd not have been pleas'd with. For in the Reflections we sometimes made upon Religion, we were always on our Guard in an extraordinary manner, least we shou'd fall into any Practice, or have any Idæa *which* tended in the least to Superstition, the most dangerous and most fatal Pest of Christianity. We were so happy, as to be united all in the same Spirit, without the false Wisdom of the *Sages*, and that Pernicious knowledge of the Learned, the Disputers and Innovators of this Age, which have caus'd so many wicked Sects, and other Disorders in the Christian World. The Errors of the *Roman Catholicks* and some others in the matter of the necessity of Baptism, ought to be a Lesson to us, not to fall into the like Mistake, in the use of the other Sacrament, the Practice of which by the common consent of all the Christians this day alive is not in it self necessary. We found a great Comfort in our selves, in keeping closely to that Pure and Primitive Evangelical Doctrine, which all Divines without exception say, contains the Soul and Essence of saving Faith, without entring into any Inquiries, which had the least appearance of Unprofitableness or Curiosity. We delighted in, and often Repeated Passages out of the Scripture, and these offer'd themselves to our Remembrance. *All that I propose to you is to know Jesus Christ, and him Crucify'd. This is eternal Life to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. If thou confessest the Lord Jesus with thy Mouth, and believe in thy Heart that God has rais'd him from the Dead, thou shalt be Sav'd. Whoever believes in me, has eternal Life. Whoever calls upon the Name of the Lord shall be sav'd. I have declar'd unto you all the Counsel of God, to wit, Repentance towards God, and Faith in Jesus*

Christ. The Religion that is Pure and without Spot towards our God and Father, is to visit the Orphans and Widows in their Tribulations, and to avoid the Defilements of the World, &c.[1] We were free from the accidental Theology of Controversies, from Chimerical and Heretical *Idæas*, which we look'd upon, as if they had never been; from all Superstitious Fooleries, from all vain, impertinent rash Thoughts, which are as Pernicious to the Soul, as they are unreasonable; and had a delicious Taste of the excellency of simple and pure Religion. We abhorr'd as the sacred Writers did, those Makers or Botchers[2] of Religion, who accommodate the Doctrine and Worship of Christianity to their own fancies, pretending to be more wise than Wisdom it self. We ador'd God the Creator in purity and simplicity of Heart. We worship'd Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the Terms and Rules of Revelation, without valuing our selves on foolish Explanations, or endeavouring to unfold the sacred Mysteries, which by the confession of all Men are necessarily, and will always be hidden from mortal Men, and impenitrable to Human Eye; or they wou'd cease to be *Mysteries*. We thus invok'd the Almighty with Joy and Confidence, (doing good as far as we cou'd) by the Meditation[3] of our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, the way, the Truth and the Life. In these happy Dispositions we look'd on Death, not as a Terror, but as the Messenger of glad Tidings.

Besides those great Walks, or rather those little Journeys we us'd to take, we never mist walking out in the Evening, in the Neighbourhood of our Habitations. We had one Walk among others on the Sea-shoar to the left of our Rivulet,

[1] 1 Cor. ii, 2; St. John xvii, 3; Rom. x, 9; St. John vi, 47; Acts ii, 21; Rom. x, 13; Acts xx, 27 and 21; St. James i, 27.

[2] In orig.: "accomodeurs". Botchers, *i.e.*, bunglers, probably derived from the Mantuan *poccia*, a slop, mess, or puddle. Hence It. *pozza*, a bungling piece of work.

[3] In orig.: "la Médiation."

and 'twas a very lovely one. 'Twas an avenue to it form'd by Nature, as straight as if it had been planted by a Line at a parallel Distance, from the Sea; and about twelve hundred Paces long, which is exactly the length of the Mall at *London;* in the fine Park at *St. James's.*[1] We might have lengthen'd it to seven or eight Miles if we wou'd, and upon firm Ground, which was a perfect Level. We had on one side of this delicious Walk a View of the vast extended Ocean, and heard the confus'd murmur[2] of the Waves breaking against the Rocks, about a League off, so that 'twas not loud enough to disturb our Conversation; it only threw us often into Contemplations, to which we gave our selves up with the greater Pleasure, because we had not much to say to one another. On the other side (inland) our Prospect was agreeably bounded by charming Hills, and the Valleys which reach'd to it were like a fine Orchard in the sweet and rich Seasons of Autumn.

Among the great number and variety of Trees in this Island planted by Nature, there is one which is wonderful and worthy our particular Observation, for its Beauty, Bigness, Roundness, and the rare Symmetry of its exact Branches; the ends of which are every where very much tufted, and its Leaves so great and thick, that they fall down almost to the Ground all about it; so that come which way you will at this Tree, you can perceive but a small part of its Trunk, and that at the bottom of it; and sometimes you can see nothing at all of it.[3]

[1] This paragraph seems to indicate an interpolation by Max. Misson. The site of Leguat's settlement was on the north-north-west shore (*vide ante*, p. 50), and was well known in 1760 as "*l'enfoncement de François Leguat*". It is now occupied by the small town known as Port Mathurin.

[2] In orig.: "le flux, ou reflux perpetuel venant à se rompre contre les Brizans qui étoient à une lieüe de là, fasoit un murmure confus."

[3] At p. 130 of vol. i of the French edition of Leguat's voyage, this wonderful tree is figured in a way to puzzle botanists were it not for

It being as one may imagine, all shady in the middle, the Branches are within-side like dry Poles, which seem to be

the accompanying descriptive text. The title on the plate is as follows: "Pavillon Arbre, nouvellement découvert." Leguat's Pavilion has been identified with the screw-pine, growing in abundance everywhere on this island from the sea-shore to the highest points. Prof. Balfour writes (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. cxlviii, p. 312): "Every visitor to Rodriguez will be struck at once by the peculiar features impressed on the landscape by the prevalence of screw-pines. They are indeed the physiognomic plants, and far outstrip in numbers any other species; but it is remarkable that, though individually so numerous, specifically the family is not rich, there being only two species of Pandanus on the island—*P. heterocarpus* and *P. tennifolius*, both peculiar and very distinct from any other of the indigenous Mascarene forms. Three other specimens have been registered by various authorities; they are *P. odoratissimus*, *P. utilis*, and *P. muricatus*."

P. Heterocarpus, the species to which Leguat's tree may be referred, is very variable, and the popular names indicate this—Vacoa calé rouge, V. calé blanc, V. sac, V. poteau, V. parasol, and V. mâle, are all applied to it according to its habit of growth, and the various uses to which its leaves and branches are put by the creoles. When on sites exposed to the wind it has a stunted habit, the branches are few, thick, and short, and the leaves also are short and erect. In such situations it is known as the *Vacoa calé*, and the inhabitants make a distinction between two varieties according as the head, peduncle, and united parts are red or are greenish yellow or yellow. The former they style *rouge*, the latter *blanc*. If the tree grows in suitable soil or in a sheltered position where it has room to develop its branches properly, then it forms a dense and compact dome, and the branches droop downwards so far as almost to conceal the stem, and it is then known as *Vacoa parasol*. When in any situation the tree develops a trunk of a good size, and is allowed to grow until the wood is hard and firm to the centre, and is capable of being used as a post for a house, then the tree is called *V. poteau*. The name *V. sac* is given to the young plants when the leaves are long and broad, and may be made into bags such as are used in Mauritius for sugar. *V. mâle* is of course the male tree, known by the inhabitants as not bearing fruit.

V. tennifolius (Vacoa chevron) is a much smaller plant, with narrow delicate leaves and a few large druped fruits. It is easily distinguished from the foregoing, and is confined to the higher parts of the island and the upper parts of the valleys. (Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 379.)

In the large palm-house in the Kew Gardens there is a fine specimen

the work of a Carpenter, and set there to bear up the Plumes or Branches which are quite about it, and thus make a sort of Cage or Tent of the Tree. 'Tis true, the greatest beauty of this Tent, is in its charming Outside, though the coolness and shelter of the inside have also their Charms; 'twas unhappy that its Fruit was not good to eat. Those of us who had the Curiosity to eat it, found it Sour, and knew by Experience, that was all the hurt that was in it. It has the smell of a very fine Quince; 'tis a sort of a Grape, the Seeds of which are close and all together. It lookt at a distance like the Fruit of the *Ananas*. For which reason we us'd to call these Trees *Ananas;* tho' there's a great difference between the two Plants. As for me, I was for calling it the *Pavilion* or Tent. The Leaves are of an admirable Green, and the Stalks of them are so short, that one wou'd think they grew immediately to the Wood. The greatest are four or five Inches broad, sharp at the end and about fifteen inches long. They form a great Bunch, and here and there one may see the Grapes, which are of divers Colours, according as they are more or less Ripe. I have often taken Pleasure to Survey these natural Palaces, and was equally ravish'd with its largeness and singular beauty. We sometimes play'd at Chess, at Trictrac,[1] at Drafts, at Bowls and at Scales.[2] Hunting and Fishing were so easie to

of *P. odoratissimus*, which has flowered and fruited this year (1890). The fruits, two in number, hang from the topmost branches, and bear a close resemblance to pine-apples, while the peculiar development of the long, straggling branches, stout enough for posts or rafters, surmounted by a tuft of leaves growing directly from the wood, and the pendulous roots from the main trunk, present a remarkable appearance, and are worth comparing with the description in our text.

[1] *Tric-trac*, a game somewhat like backgammon.

[2] In orig.: "Quilles", *i.e.*, ninepins. A variation of this game, called "quilles au bâton", is played with seven bits of wood set up on end, and a stick; the player tries to knock over as many as he can each throw. This latter may probably have been the game played by Leguat and his companions.

us, that it took away from the Pleasure. We often delighted our selves in teaching the Parrots[1] to speak, there being a vast number of them. We carry'd one to *Maurice* Isle, which talk'd *French* and *Dutch*.

We shall soon see that all the last year of our abode here, we were employ'd in building the fine Bark, of which we must speak in the Sequel of these Memoirs. If any one desires to know how we lighted our Cabbins when 'twas dark, or the Places we were then in, I must acquaint him that we brought Lamps with us; and instead of Oil, made use of Turtles fat, which as I said before, never Congeal'd. We lighted our Fires with Burning-Glasses.

The Reader finding we had Abundance of Variety of Flesh and Fish, Roasted and Boil'd, Soops, Ragouts, Herbs, Roots, excellent Melons, other Fruits, Palm-Wine, clear and fresh Water, do's not apprehend the poor Adventurers in *Rodrigo* were in any danger of Starving.

But since he's so kind as to consern himself a little in their extraordinary manner of Living, I assure him they made very good Cheer without Surfeits, Indigestion, Diseases, and thanks be to God without Bread. The Captain had left them two great Barrels of Bisket,[2] but they seldom made use of it, except 'twas in Soops or Broth, and often they quite forgot it. When we had stay'd above a year in our new Island, we began to wonder we saw no Ship come; for to say truth, some of us were not a little tir'd. They regretted the loss of their Youth, and were troubled to think they shou'd perhaps be oblig'd to pass the best part of their Lives in a strange Solitude, and intolerable Idleness. After several Deliberations, 'twas at last almost unanimously agreed, that when we had stay'd two whole years in expectation of *News from Mr. Du Quesne*, which we at first resolv'd to do, then if none came, we wou'd do our utmost to get to *Maurice* Island,

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 83; *Phil. Tr., loc. cit.*, p. 429.
[2] *Vide ante*, p. 55.

which belong'd to the *Dutch*, where we might embark to go where we pleas'd, there being a Governor, and Ships coming every year from the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Isle is above one hundred and sixty Leagues from *Rodrigo*, a great way for us to make; but we consider'd the Wind[1] blew generally one way, and that fair for that Island; wherefore we put all hands to Work to build a Bark as well as we cou'd, and if there was any liklihood we might make use of it, we wou'd convey our selves thither in it,[2] after having implor'd the assistance of him, who Commands the Winds and the Seas.

This Enterprize appear'd very difficult, even to those that Projected it; but however, it did not seem to be wholly impossible. We were to build a pretty big Boat, but we had no Skilful Workmen, and few Tools; we had neither Pitch nor Tar, nor Cordage, nor Anchor, nor Compass, nor a hundred other Necessaries, and near two hundred Leagues[3] by Sea was a great Voyage. The Wisest of us saw a thousand other Difficulties, and were afraid our Design cou'd never succeed. But those that projected it, were fix'd in it; and 'twas agreed upon, that we shou'd prepare to put it in Execution, and by way of Diversion, to undertake the building of a Bark, tho' we lost our Labour. No sooner said than done. And all eight of us without serving any Apprenticeship, became Carpenters, Smiths, Rope-makers, Mariners, and generally every thing that was necessary for us to be. In this Undertaking necessity was a Law to us, it supply'd all our Defects. Every one propos'd what he thought wou'd be most proper and advantageous, and we went all chearfully to Work, having a good Understanding one with another, as 'twas our Common Interest.

[1] The trade wind; *vide infra.*

[2] In orig.: "dans cette petite arche."

[3] Rodriguez lies 350 miles to the eastward of Mauritius. (*Vide* Findlay, *op. cit.*, p. 512.)

Among other Instruments we had a great Saw and a little one, with which we began to saw Boards, and very happily made use of a Beam of Oak[1] which the Sea had sometime before thrown on our Coasts. If the Curious Reader demands by way of Parenthesis, from whence that Beam came, I must answer, that truly I cannot tell.[2] Let it come from whence it will, we had it, the Sea brought it to us, and we us'd it for the Purpose I tell him. We saw'd out some good Boards, but the great Saw breaking thrice, and being handled by unskilful Persons, the greater part of those Boards were of an unequal thickness, and Consequently not very good to the Eye, nor indeed fit for Use.

Our Bark was twenty Foot long at the Keel, six broad, and four deep, we rounded it at both ends. We had some Nails, but *John de la Haye* who was a Silver-Smith, had some Forge-Tools and other Instruments, helpt us to more; he mended our Saw for us several times. For Calking we made use of old Linen; and instead of Pitch and Tar, mingled Jet[3] with Gumms which we found on the Trees in Plenty, and temper'd it with Oil of Turtle. We work'd up several sorts of Ropes with the Threads or Fibres of the Stalks of the Plantane-Leaves; which Ropes were strong enough, but not very Supple, and were proper only for fix'd work, but were always frizing[4] out and untwisting when we employ'd 'em about running Work. Instead of an Anchor, we provided our selves with a piece of Rock, which weigh'd

[1] "Taillée en quarré & longue de soixante pieds," omitted by translator.

[2] It subsequently transpired that an English ship had been wrecked in this vicinity previous to the arrival of Leguat. Captain Valleau heard of this on his reaching Mauritius after leaving Leguat, and he returned to search for this wreck, from which, evidently, this oak timber had drifted. (*Vide infra*, Part II.)

[3] "Dont j'ai parlé," omitted by translator. Leguat is referring to bitumen, which he has mentioned above. Cf. *supra*, p. 87.

[4] From the Fr. *friser*, to curl. In the orig. the word used is *s'érailler*, to fray.

one hundred and fifty pound Weight, and we made a Sail as well as we could.

Every Man was Industrious as it lay in his Power to be, to carry on this Work, and the two years being almost expir'd, we were so forward in it, that the Bark was Lanch'd, no one of us sparing his Labour[1] on this Occasion.

As for Provisions we dry'd[2] Lamentins Flesh, we fill'd the Barrels we had for that use with Fresh Water; the little Biskit that was left us we put aboard, and supply'd our selves with Land and Water Melons. The latter wou'd keep a long time; What I have said is true, we began the building our Boat knowing we had no Compass,[3] and so we finish'd it; but every Body seeking for something Useful towards supplying its Place, one of us found a little Solar Quadrant of Loadstone[4] which cost him three Pence at *Amsterdam*;

[1] In orig.: "à force de bras et d'epaules."

[2] In orig.: "nous fimes *boucaner*." From this word comes our word "buccaneer".

[3] Maximilian Misson, supposed by some to have written Leguat's preface, and to have translated his Voyage, in his *New Voyage to Italy*, 1637, observes, vol. i, p. 640, that "the city of Amalphis boasts of having given birth to Flavio Gioia, as being the Inventor of the Compass (in the year 1300), upon which Mr Magnati cites the following Verse of Panormita: 'Prima dedit Nautis usum Magnetis Amalphis'." But Father Fournier, the author of a learned work on navigation entitled *Hydrographia*, shews (p. 399), by the verses which he takes out of the Poet Guyot ("Auteur du Roman qu'il intitula *la Bible de Guyot*"), who lived one hundred years before Gioia was born (at the end of the twelfth century), that the use of the *Boussole*, then called *Marinette*, was known in France at that time:—

> "Icelle Estoille ne se muet
> Un Art font qui mentir ne puet
> Par vertu de la Marinette,
> Une pierre laide & noirette
> Où le fer volontiers se ioint," &c.

[4] In orig.: "un petit quadran solaire aimanté," a sun-dial with a compass to allow of adjustment. The one mentioned by Leguat appears to have been a toy pocket-dial. Such instruments were much in use in the latter part of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, before

and tho' 'twas not good we were glad he had found it, hoping to reap some Benefit by it.

When the Bark was in the Water, we were all surpris'd to find she did not obey the Rudder, and that to turn it we must make use of an Oar.

The day of our Departure, was fix'd to be *Saturday* the 19th of *April* 1693. The Moon being then near at the Full, the Sea wou'd be high, and consequently the easier to pass above the Shelves. The Reason why we did not choose the time when the Moon wou'd be quite at the Full was, because we wou'd have as much as we cou'd of her Light.

These Shelves of which I have often spoken,[1] are (to inform, *en passant*, those who do not understand the Term) Rocks rising up in the Sea like a sort of Wall,[2] with which the

clocks and watches took their place. In the collection at the S. Kensington Museum there are several of that period; one in particular, of French make, with the hours and names of cities engraved on it, might serve to illustrate our text.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 47, and note, *ib.*

[2] The island of Rodriguez is bound to the north, the south, and the west with chains or reefs of rocks, nearly even with the water's edge, on which are scattered the rocky islets mentioned above at page 88. This bank or wall, as the text says, extends a league and a half from the coast, and the north-east side is the least dangerous, as the reef recedes sufficiently here to admit of ranging along the isle on that side. (Grant's *History of Mauritius*, p. 310.)

Mr. J. Murray, of the *Challenger* expedition, has shown that it is not necessary to call in the subsidences required by Darwin's theory (*A Naturalist's Voyage*, pp. 557 *seqq.*) to explain the characteristics of these barrier reefs. He shows that the foundations for barrier reefs, such as those at Rodriguez, have been prepared by the disintegration of volcanic islands and by the building up of submarine volcanoes by the deposition on their summits of organic sediments; that barrier reefs have been built up by coral plantations from the shore on a foundation of volcanic *débris*, or on a talus of coral blocks, coral sediments, and pelagic shells and the lagoon channel formed by the solvent action of the sea-water thrown over the reefs at each tide and by currents, etc. (See *Structure and Origin of Coral Reefs and Islands*, by Mr. John Murray, 1880; *Nature*, vol. xxii, p. 351.)

The coral animals by which the stony, cellular scaffoldings which com-

Island is encompast at an unequal Distance; except in two Places, where there's a Breach about 10 or 12 Foot broad, that gives access to the Isle. This is not to be seen in the Map.[1]

When we arriv'd on the Island, we perceiv'd the Names of some *Dutchmen*, who had Landed there before, Written on the Bark of some Trees,[2] with the date of the Time; and this put us in mind of doing the same when we left it. We therefore wrote an Abridgment of our History in *French* and *Dutch*,[3] with the date of our Arrival, the time of our Abode, and our Departure. We put it into a Viol, with a Note to Passengers to look into. We plac'd it in a sort of a Niche Dug in the Trunk of the great Tree,[4] under which we us'd

pose coral reefs (or, as Dioscorides designates them, a forest of stony trees, *lithodendra*) surrounding the island of Rodriguez, have been built up in thick, wall-like masses, are closely related to those of Mauritius, Madagascar, and the Seychelles. Dr. Brüggemann has examined and identified 102 specimens collected at Rodriguez by MM. Slater and Gulliver, which belong to 49 species: including Alcyoniidæ, Milleporidæ, Astræidæ, Actiniidæ, Madraporidæ, Fungidæ, etc. (See *Philosophical Transactions*, *op. cit.*, p. 569.)

[1] In orig.: "on peut voir cela dans la carte." The two entrances *are* shown on the map. That to the north opposite the settlements is the most convenient for landing, while that on the south side is so winding that it requires considerable practice to navigate it with safety. (Grant, *op. et loc. cit.*)

[2] Adanson found trunks of the Baobab on the Magdalena Is. in 1748, with a diameter of five and six feet, all bearing the names of Europeans deeply carved on their bark. One inscription was of the 15th, another of the 16th century, and the characters were about six inches long. (*Voyage au Sénégal*, p. 66.)

"Le vingt cinquiesme Juin (1638) nous abordasmes l'isle de Diego Rois, . . . Nous y descendismes, et y arborames les armes de France contre un tronc d'arbre par les mains de Salomon Gobert. Nostre navire fut tousiours en mer, n'ayant pû anchre, le fond estant trop bas; aussi-tost que les armes du Roy y furent posées, ceux qui auoient eu charge de ce faire, retournerent à nous dans la chaloupe qui les y auoit portez." (*Relation du Voyage de François Cauche*, 1651, p. 7.)

[3] In orig.: "Flamand."

[4] Probably a *bois d'olive*. *Vide ante*, p. 52.

to eat, and which we had experienc'd to be proof against Hurricanes.

At last the appointed Day for which my young Companions heartily long'd, arrived, and having put up our Prayers to Heaven for the Divine Assistance, we embark'd about Noon with our Provisions and Goods. The Weather was extremely fair, and the Wind the same; so that tho' we wanted a Rudder,[1] Cordage, Anchors, and almost everything necessary for our Boat, weak and ill-built as it was, we were full of Hope, that we shoul'd do very well in her. We reckoned the fair Weather wou'd continue, and if so, we might depend upon the Trade-Wind,[2] of which I have spoken; and which according to our Calculation, founded upon what we had heard the Captain and Seamen say, always blow'd at that time of the year, and as long as the Weather was fair. In such case we might expect to make *St. Maurice* Island in[3] two Days and two Nights.

We therefore departed with Joy, and earnestly desiring to arrive in some Place where we might see the Inhabitants of the World, we past swiftly enough to the Shelves. But

[1] "Boussole" omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "cette espèce de Vent Alizé." The general system of winds in the Indian Ocean, writes Findlay, may be said to be divided into:—1, The region of the N.W. anti-trades or passage winds, south of 25° or 30° S.; 2, The region of the S.E. trade winds, between lats. 10° and 25° or 30° S.; 3, The belt of calms to the N. and N.W. of the trades; 4, The area of the south-*east* and north-*west* monsoons, between the equator and 10° S.; and 5, The part N. of the equator, where the monsoons alternately blow in opposite seasons from northward or southward. Rodriguez, in 19° 42′ S., is therefore in the very heart of the S.E. trade winds, the "*espèce de Vent Alizé*" noticed by Leguat.

The regularity of this wind is only affected in some seasons W. of 70° E. (*i.e.*, 7° W. of Rodriguez), and the northern and southern limits of this aerial current are extended or contracted according to the season of the year. The occasional disturbances caused in the atmosphere by cyclones will be noticed hereafter, when they are more particularly noticed by Leguat. (See Findlay's *Indian Ocean Directory*, p. 17 *et seq.*)

[3] In orig.: "en moins de deux jours & deux nuits."

instead of seeking for one of the two Breaches before mention'd, and to Hale[1] the Ship by Land or by Sea, to a Place where 'tis easy to pass, we depended too much on our good Fortune, and thinking to go thro' directly, we happen'd to strike. We went so swiftly along,[2] that we cou'd hardly perceive when we struck, and thought we only brusht by the Rock. Wherefore we proceeded, and were got about fifty Paces beyond the Shelves, flattering ourselves we were past the greatest Danger, when on a sudden we were sadly convinced of our Mistake[3]; for the Water came pouring in, and we saw 'twas time for us to return as fast as we cou'd to Land. In the meantime the poor Boat fill'd apace, the Rudder cou'd not guide us. The Wind in spite of us, drove us farther off Shoar. Fear depriv'd us of the little Skill we had, and as for myself in particular, I believ'd our time was come; one may easily imagine the Condition we were in, our Peril was so terrible and apparent. The Desire of Living made us set to work to save ourselves; but the truth is, 'twas to no purpose[4]; one endeavour'd to lave[5] the Water out of the Bark[6] with his Hat, another employ'd himself with Labour every whit as unprofitable, and all cry'd out or Pray'd like lost Men. However at last one of us handled an Oar so

[1] *I.e.*, to haul or drag along. Cf. Dampier's *Voyages* (1681).

[2] In orig.: "comme nous voguions avec beaucoup de légèreté." The idea of lightness or buoyancy is hardly expressed by the word "swiftly" in our text.

[3] In orig.: "car l'eau paroissant tout incontinent, & croissant à vuë d'œil on s'écria qu'il falloit promptement retourner en arrière, & regagner terre."

[4] In orig.: "mais la vérité est que nous perdimes tous la tramontane." *Vide ante*, p. 38, and note, *ib.*

[5] "Some stow their oars, or stop the leaky sides,
Another bolder yet the yard bestrides,
And folds the sails; a fourth, with labour, *laves*
Th' intruding seas, and waves ejects on waves."
Dryden, *Ovid. Metam.*, "Ceyx and Alcyone".

[6] In orig.: "qui étoit presque pleine," omitted by translator.

effectually, that the Bark tack'd about, and the Wind being brisk, it drove us (back) in four Minutes time on the other side of the Shelves; but thirty Paces from thence[1] nearer the Island the Boat sank down to the Bottom. If that Misfortune had happened to us half an Hour before,[2] we had been drown'd every Man of us; but there being not above six[3] foot Water, and the Bark not Over-setting, we stood all of us upright on the Deck, with the Water up to our Middles. 'Twas a Happiness in our Trouble, that the Rock on which we struck made such a hole in the Boat, that we saw the Water enter immediately; for if we had not so visibly and readily seen it, we should have kept on our way, and then had infallibly Perish'd. However, as it was, we were very unpleasantly Posted in the Water on one end of the Deck. Tho' it began to Ebb, and we were but half a League from the Shoar, we cou'd not tell what to resolve on. 'Twas concluded after we had thought of it a little, we wou'd stay till the Water was so low that we might get to Shoar, haling our Chests and Barrels after us as they floated in the Water ty'd to one another.

This was accordingly done, but not without putting us to terrible Fatigues; for we had several Voyages to make, sometimes up to the Neck in Water, the Bottom being uneven, and sometimes we were oblig'd to Swim, it being out of our Depths, and draw our Chests after us with Ropes ty'd about our Wasts. We all of us stript, that we might have the more liberty in Swimming, and the sharp and keen

[1] In orig.: "au dela de ce même brisant," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "un demi-quart d'heure plutôt."

[3] It is high water, full, and change at Port Mathurin at 0hr. 30m.; spring tides, such as those chosen by Leguat's comrades for passing the reefs, rise, according to Findlay, 4½ feet, the neaps to 1½ foot only. The tidal streams are not appreciable except in the channels or passes. Occasionally rollers set in (*ras-de-marées*), causing heavy breakers on all the dangerous reefs and rocks, and a nasty swell in Mathurin Bay. (*Findlay.*)

Stones[1] made our Feet all bloody. To add to our Misfortunes, the Current ev'ry now and then carry'd away part of our Baggage, nevertheless we sav'd most of our things the same day, and put the heavy part of our Luggage out of the Bark on the Land; the Sea cou'd not sweep that away, and when the Tide was quite out, we might at our Leasure recover it, which we intended to do next Day, and see if we cou'd hale our poor Boat after us. We now ty'd it to a Rock, and at last got to Land with much joy, and much Sorrow, having made proof by a woful and happy Experience, that evil and good things are often mix'd together by Fortune.

The next Morning as soon as 'twas Light we went to the Bark, which now lay a-shoar, to Refit her as well as we cou'd. We Launch'd her when the Tide came in, put our heavy Goods aboard, and got safe to a Place where we cou'd conveniently Land them.[2] Each of us lost something in this Shipwreck, and what we had left was generally damag'd; but we had sav'd our Lives almost by a Miracle. We return'd our most humble thanks to God, the Gracious and Mighty Protector, who had assisted us in our extreme Peril.

In the mean time one of us who seem'd to be the most Strong and Vigorous Man in the Company, found himself very much out of Order after so great a fatigue. As soon as he got a-shoar naked and frozen,[3] as he was, he laid himself all along upon the Sand, which the Sun had heated extraordinarily. He thought at first he wanted only a little Rest, but a while after his Face turn'd as red as Scarlet; his Head grew very heavy, and his Distemper increas'd

[1] The upper surface of coral reefs always presents a series of sharp and jagged edges most dangerous to tread on without protection to the feet.

[2] "Boats land now at the upper end of the creek in Mathurin Bay, at a small pier extending from the village, during high tide, but they cannot get within 400 yards at low tide, and wading must be resorted to." (Findlay, *op. cit.*, p. 516.)

[3] In orig.: "transi," *i.e.*, chilled.

ev'ry Minute. We carry'd him to his Cabbin with much adoe, and being of a very Vigorous Complexion, 'twas three or four days before he would confine himself to his Bed, but at last he yielded. His Head swell'd, and so many Imposthumes appear'd in it, that we cou'd scarce open all to let out the Corruption. We were at first sorry that our Rogue of a Captain had left us no Ungents or Drugs, as I have said before.[1] However we consider'd none of us understood very well how to Administer them, if we had had them; and indeed, that take it all together what we call Physick or Pharmacy is commonly nothing but a Cheat more Pernicious than Useful to Mankind; so we did not trouble our selves much for the want of it till now. We had a Consultation, whether the Patient ought not to be Blooded.[2] Some cry'd he wou'd die in the Operation, if he lost one drop of Blood only, others cry'd out louder, then he wou'd give up the Ghost in three Minutes, if he was not Blooded; and we were all so warm in the Vindication of our several Opinions, that whoever had seen us, wou'd have taken us for true Physicians.[3] Nevertheless we did not come to Blows, and there being four out of seven Voices for Bleeding, 'twas not necessary that we should stay for any other way of deciding the Question, tho' the Sacred Ministers of *Æsculapius*, have recourse sometimes to others in such Cases.[4] The Boldest of the four Phlebotomists[5] sharpen'd as well as he cou'd the point of his Pen-knife, and made Incisions in several parts of the poor dying Man's Arm, but 'twas all to no Purpose; the Fever

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 55.

[2] "*To blood*," i.e., *to let blood*, a term formerly used in surgery, was superseded by *bleed*. See a few lines below, in the text.

[3] Evidently, says M. Muller, an allusion to the famous scene from *L'Amour Médecin*, of Molière.

[4] In orig.: "ce qui est l'unique moyen de décision quand il y a contrariété d'opinion entre les sacrez Ministres d'Esculape."

[5] Phlebotomists, lit. vein cutters, from φλέψ, φλεβός a vein, and τέμνειν, to cut.

Augmented,[1] he grew Delirious, and remain'd so some Days. We cou'd then do nothing for him, but apply to the Great Physician of Body and Soul, which we had done all along. Before this Struggle was over, we had the Satisfaction to see our Dear Brother recover his Understanding, and give us the most certain and most edifying Tokens of a sincere Repentance, and holy hope of his Salvation. Thus it continu'd with him[2] till the eighth of *May* 1693, when he expir'd in the 29th year of his Age, after three Weeks Sickness. Such was the end of honest *Isaac Boyer*, the eighth part of the Kings and the Inhabitants of *Rodrigo*. And that you may not, kind Reader, go so far as this New World without seeing some Monument, Read if you think fit, the Epitaph that I add here.[3]

"Beneath these Immortal Palms,
In the faithful Bosom of a Virgin Earth,
Are piously deposited
The Bones
Of ISAAC BOYER,
An honest and faithful *Gascon*, descended from *Adam*,
Of as Noble Blood as any of the Mortals his Brethren,

---

[1] In orig. : "& le transport s'étant fait au cerveau," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig. : "Enfin il rendit son Ame à Dieu."

[3] This epitaph is printed in the original on a quarto sheet, in two columns, surmounted by a strange device, in imitation or mockery, as we may suppose, of the heraldic ornaments which decorated the pompous epitaphs on contemporary monuments of the 17th century. The centre is a coat of arms, with the name "Boyer" under a fleur-de-lys and a star *or*, on a field *azure*, between two cherubims proper on a field *or;* surmounted by the name of Jehovah in Hebrew characters. On either side are two medallions; on one of which is represented the adventurer's boat at sea, with the legend, "*Nous n'avons point icy de cité permanente*," circumscribed. On the other side is the conventional phœnix on its burning nest, with its circumscription, "*Dans la mort l'immortalité.*" Above all is a scroll bearing the Latin words: "*Nascimur pares; pares morimur.*" The whole appearance of these fanciful designs is in keeping with the fashion then in vogue, as displayed in the emblems of Jacob Cats, of a few years' earlier date.

Who all Reckon, among their Ancestors
Bishops and Millers.

* * * * *

If all Men would live as He liv'd,
Dancing, Laces, Bayliffs, Locks and Keys,
Cannon, Prisons, Tax-Gatherers, Monarchs,
Would be useless things in the World.

* * * * *

He was Wise, and more a Philosopher than the Philosophers.
He was a Christian, and more a Divine than the Divines.
He knew his Ignorance, and was more a Doctor than the Doctors.
He was more Independant than Sovereigns,
Being neither plagu'd with Flatterers, nor drunk with Ambition.
He was richer than Kings, for he wanted but one Thing,

A WIFE.

* * * * *

In that Execrable Time
Which makes my Pen tremble with Horror,
He was forc'd to abandon his Dear Country
And every thing with it,
To fly from the
Furious Ministers of the great Tribulation.

* * * * *

He cross'd Mountains and Seas,
And coming to this Island,
Found here the true Port of Safety.

* * * * *

Himself and seven Companions of the same Fortune,
Stay'd here two whole years,
The people and the Rulers of the Place.
He had longer enjoy'd
The Delights of this new World,
If his Heart had not been touch'd
With a secret Desire for
The Too lovely Sex,
Which engag'd him in an Enterprize
That caus'd his Death.

* * * * *

He wrestled boldly with that terrible Enemy,
And came off Conqueror;
Since at the same time that he yielded Dust to Dust,
He procur'd the Honour for the Isle of Rodrigo,
To
Render to the Lord one of the Blessed at the Resurrection.

His Soul
Is gone Triumphantly
Into the Palace of Immortality.
* * * * *
His few and evil Days
Were not at most above
Ten Thousand Six Hundred;
And
That in which he took his leave of the World,
Was the Eighth of May, in the Year of our Redemption,
MDCXCIII.
Whosoever thou art, Passenger, that reads this,
Remember
Thou must die in a little while,
And
Improve thy Time."
A * Ω.

Neither our Sorrow for the loss of a dear and useful Friend, nor the bad Success of our first Enterprize hinder'd us from thinking of leaving the Island. These young Men had, as *Horace* says, Hearts of Oak and Brass,[1] which made them freely expose their Lives in the weakest of all Boats, and rashly to defie the fury of the Winds. They persisted therefore obstinately in their first Resolution, and added to the Fundamental Reasons alledg'd in the beginning, that they wou'd benefit themselves by the Misfortune that had happened to them, and take better measure for the future. They said they wou'd strengthen the Bark in Repairing it, that they wou'd lay some Buoys, or some other Tokens in their way to direct them in this Case, and wou'd depart when the Tides were highest, that they might not run the Risk of touching the Shelves, without spending time in seeking after

[1] "Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyades, nec rabiem Noti."
(Horace, *Carminum*, lib. I, iii, *ad Virgilium*.)

other Breaches, if they cou'd not follow exactly the way mark'd them out by the Buoys.[1]

I was, as well as they, a little weary of Confinement, and cou'd not with Pleasure think of living all the rest of my Days in one of the Islands of the *Antipodes;* but I did not imagine such a sorry Gondola[2] as our Boat, was capable of carrying us such a vast way, especially having no necessaries for the Voyage: Wherefore I oppos'd the execution of the first Design with all my Might. As Resolute as they seem'd to be, to be gone, I beg'd them in the most perswasive Terms I cou'd use, to reflect a little more upon what they were going about; and not to shock them too much at first, I highly commended their Courage, and gave way to their most plausible Reasons. But I conjur'd them also to consider, that this was an Affair of the last Importance, both for the Body and the Soul; that without a second Miracle, we must be a second time Ship-wreck'd, and that then they wou'd never be able to avoid Reproaches very like Despair, for having tempted God. I added, Experience ought to make us wiser than we were before; that it had already cost us one of our Companions Lives, and we shou'd look upon that sad Accident as the Warning of Providence, and the Manifestation of God's Will, of whom we had demanded with Fasting and Resignation, that he wou'd be pleased to inspire us what we shou'd do. I told them farther, that since those that were

[1] The channel buoyed by Leguat's companions was probably the western point into Mathurin Bay, the sole practicable harbour at Rodriguez. "The most convenient anchorage in Mathurin Bay is in 10 fathoms, bottom of sand and mud, off a small buoy marking the entrance to the creek. The creek is narrow but deep, running into the coral reef towards the settlement, and makes a good berth for the small schooners (*chasse-marées*, in Creole) which carry on the trade of the island. These place their anchors on the coral at the end of the creek about a quarter of a mile from the small town or village, mooring head and stern." (Findlay, *op. cit.*, p. 516.)

[2] Another of Misson's Italian references (?). See his *Voyage to Italy*, letter xvii.

to follow us, had not promis'd to come till after two years, 'twas convenient to outstay that time a little; perhaps Succour was now upon Sea for us, and might arrive ev'n when we were the deplorable sport of the Waves, if we were not before that Food for the Monsters of the Sea. Besides, since we were in a good Place, we ought to have a little Patience; and in the mean time have Recourse to a reasonable Means, which no Body had yet thought of; and that was, to light great Fires on the top of our high Mountain,[1] and set Lanthorns[2] all about the Island, to invite Ships that past by us, to come to our Assistance. The Cotton[3] of our Plantanes, and our Turtles Oil, made the execution of this Design easy; and we had stuff enough to cover it with, and make a kind of Lanthorns if it had been necessary.

I had a thousand things more to say, if I had had to do with Men of ripe Understanding, and well reclaim'd from the follies of the World. For to cast up all things, what cou'd be comparable to the Sweetness, the Innocence, the Advantages, and Delight in a Solitude so much resembling an Earthly Paradise as ours? What can be imagin'd more happy, after having groan'd and suffer'd under the Yoak of Tyranny, than to live in Independence and Ease, without danger of Worldly Temptations: But when a Man is young, he is not capable of making such Reflections. I therefore finish'd my Speech, in representing further to them the length of the Voyage, the weakness of our Vessel, the wretched Tackling we had, and their Unskilfulness. They heard me patiently; several of them seem'd not to digest it, and one of them whom I had touch'd in a sore Place, of

[1] In orig.; "sur quelques hauteurs." The highest point is Mount Limon, 1,300 feet.

[2] The spelling of *lanthorn* which so long prevailed was doubtless influenced by the use of transparent sheets of horn for the sides of the lantern. (Wedgwood's *Dict. of Eng. Etymology.*)

[3] The *capoc* of the Latanier palm, mentioned before. (*Vide supra*, p. 65.)

which I was not aware, alledg'd briskly, a new Reason for our Departure: which was so agreeable to the relish of the rest, that it occasion'd a new Discourse, and all my Arguments were forgotten. *Do you imagine*, said this young Man,[1] *That we will condemn ourselves to spend all our Lives here without Wives. Do you think your Earthly Paradise more excellent, than that which God prepar'd for Adam; where he declared with his Mouth, it is not good that Man shou'd be alone:* I reply'd,[2] *My dear Friend*, Adam's *Wife proved such a Curse to him, and all his Posterity, that certainly our Paradise wou'd not be much improv'd by the Company of such an Eve among us.* They all Laugh'd, and what I little thought of, all the Discourse was afterwards on the Subject of the Ladies, which was, as is said, the Gospel of the Day.[3] I soon saw where the Shooe pinch'd,[4] and in the reign of *Quolibets* some fine Wit wou'd certainly have said on this occasion, there was not one of my Adventurers who wou'd not have lov'd a *Chimène*[5] much better than a *Rodrigo*. The most Moderate of us (and 'twas time to be moderate after Fifty and I do not know how many more Winters) put on a serious Air; and the business of Marriage and Women not being a question that is entirely decided, for or against it, more than one of our Company joyn'd with him, as to the Inconveniences that attended them. 'Twas said that an eternal Slavery, and a just and natural Love of Liberty were incompatible; that 'twas a strange Resolution to subscribe one's self voluntarily, to a Bondage that has no end. And if all Animals were

[1] Evidently Paul Bénelle.

[2] In orig.: "répondit quelcun."

[3] In orig.: "De l'abondance du cœur la bouche parla," which is omitted by translator.

[4] "Il ne me fut pas difficile de voir où gissit le lieure (si je puis ajoûter proverbe à proverbe)."

[5] La Belle Chimène, or Ximena, daughter of Count Lozano de Gormaz, who married the Cid, Rodrigue Diaz de Bivar. (*Le Cid*, written by *Le grand Corneille* in 1636.)

born with a desire of Conjunction, Nature had for all that, loaden them with Irons. The Cares and Tribulations mentioned by *St. Paul*,[1] were also urg'd against them; and 'twas said, the Beauty of Women was no more durable, than that of Flowers. That the Sweets which we fansie we may enjoy with them, are no solid good; and after all, this just devise of Marry'd Men, will be eternally true; *for one Pleasure, a thousand Pains.* That notwithstanding all the Precautions we endeavour to take, we shall often find our selves coupled with Harpyes and Traiteresses; and the Rage of Jealousie, together with all the Misfortunes that accompany Marriage, are often the fruit of the greatest Love. The quarrelsome Contentious Women, of whom *Solomon*[2] speaks, were not omitted; nor the famous Passages[3] in the xxv and xlii Chapters of the excellent Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, where 'tis said, *All Malice is little, and all Wickedness supportable, provided the Malice of a Woman is excepted; and the Iniquity of a Man is of more Worth, than the Woman that do's good*, or *than the goodness of a Woman*, as some Authors Translate it. Besides[4] we consider'd, that if such a thing has been heard of, that the Union between Man and Wife is very great, the thoughts of an unavoidable Separation, and the grief of Parting, must be most Cruel and most Bitter.

The Subject being Fertile, it gave occasion to other Reflections against the Sex, with which I would not tire the Ladies,[5] who shall vouchsafe to cast their fair Eyes on this Relation.

One of the youngest[6] said with a modest and pleasant Air,

[1] 1 Corinthians, vii, 28, 29.

[2] Proverbs, xix, 13.

[3] Cf. Ecclesiasticus, xxv, 13, 19; xlii, 14.

[4] In orig.: "On considéra encore qu'après tout, si l'union avoit été grande entre deux Epoux, chose qui à la vérité n'étoit pas inouie, la douleur d'une inévitable séparation devoit être plus cuisante & plus amère."

[5] In orig.: "les oreilles des dames."

[6] M. Bénelle again.

that he did not believe any one of the Company thought then of Marriage or Debauchery; but that in truth 'twas very hard to him, to think he must for ever be depriv'd of the Company of a Woman; and the more, because God had otherwise order'd things from the Beginning.[1] That all that had been said against them in General, seem'd to him to be very unjust; and for his part he own'd he lookt upon them as the most lovely half of the World.

Reader, 'Tis at your own choice to look over, or pass by this[2] *Discourse; when once it was a foot,*[3] *our young Men who did not want wit, said several pleasant things which I put here together, and the more willingly because these sorts of Subjects are rarely disagreeable.*

'Tis not enough, said he with a loud Voice who had demanded *Eve's* for the *Adam's* of our *Eden;* the Women are not only the most lovely half of the World, they are also the best half. (His Temper being a little quick, his expressions also were sometimes a little Vigorous.) 'Tis a shame, *added he,* to talk of Women, as some among us have done, and I cannot bear their Injurious Reflections. If there are wicked Women, there are without Comparison, a much greater Number of Rogues of our own Sex. If there are Impudent Women, 'twas certainly the infamous Temptation of Men that corrupted them. Whoever[4] have said or Thought, that *the Wickedness of Men is Preferable to the Goodness of Women,* have said so Impertinent and Extravagant a thing,

[1] "Comme cela avoit été dit," omitted by translator.

[2] "Il est à votre choix, Lecteur, de lire ou du doit, ou des yeux, les suites de cet Entretien." "*Lire du doigt,*" a naive expression for turning over the pages without stopping. (*Muller.*)

[3] In orig.: "quand une fois la matière eût été mise en mouvement."

[4] *Vide supra.* Solomon's text in Ecclesiasticus is here criticised, but it is quoted without the context of the English version. Bénelle says (in orig.): "les méchancetez des Hommes sont préférables aux bonnes actions des Femmes." The old French version is: "Mieux vaut la malice de l'homme que la femme qui fait bien; & la femme desbauchée est en opprobre." (See old French version of 1678.)

that 'tis not worth answering. No Body denies, but there are scolding,[1] Contentious Women; and what Consequence can be drawn from thence to the Prejudice of those Wise and Virtuous Women of whom the same *Solomon* speaks. Those worthy wives, who, according to him, are the Happiness, the Joy and the Crown of their Husbands[2]; a Gift of God, and a Favour of Heaven. Those excellent Women whom *St. Paul* calls the Glory of a Man,[3] the first of whom was the Master-piece and Crowning-Work of the Creation.

We may with boldness affirm, that the positive Will, and the certain and manifest Destiny of the Master of the World, is, that all the Descendants of *Adam*, shou'd each have his Help-Mate, as he our Common Father had. Those Continent Persons *St. Paul*[4] speaks of, who, either by their Stripes, their Fastings or Mortifications, have vanquish'd or overwhelm'd Nature, as being born with a Constitution that rendered them Monstrous; that is, Animals, whose Disposition was against the Order of Nature, these Persons I say, are of a particular Species, so rare, that the Laws were not made for them. *Encrease*[5] *and Multiply; it is not good that Man should be alone*[6]*: a Man shall leave his Father and Mother, and cleave unto his Wife.*[7] These are Oracles pronounc'd when the World was made, the Primi-

[1] Scolding, in orig.: "rioteuses." Contentious, in orig.: "goutières."

[2] Proverbs, xviii, 22.

[3] 1 Corinthians, xi, 7: "For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man."

[4] Max. Misson, writing from Rome, April 11, 1688, says, with regard to the liberty allowed to women in England, and the confinement of the *Italian* ladies: "That this Custom was introduc'd into *Italy* as a necessary Caution where three parts of the Men living under the constraint of Celibacy, would without this Precaution create most dreadful Disorders; but Answer being made, That *St. Paul's* Advice might be a much better and more convenient Remedy against this Danger, we chang'd the Discourse."

[5] Genesis, i, 28. [6] Genesis, ii, 18. [7] Genesis, ii, 24.

tive Indispensable Laws that ought to be deeply engraven on Marble and Brass, and transmitted to Posterity in Letters of Gold in civiliz'd Governments. I call them Laws, and not a simple Permission, which leaves Man at his liberty to do what he pleases, according to his Fancy or Caprice. The first *Eve* was not made to live a Virgin, but to become a Mother and begin to People the World; and the *Eve's* of the following Ages are not given us, let 'em be what they will, but to perpetuate the Work of the Creation. If there are a sort of Men, who like those vile Insects, of which some speak, grow out of Mud and Corruption, let those Men live by themselves as long as they please, and wallow as much as they please in the Filth and Ordure of their Origin. But 'tis not thus, that the Noble Race of the Children of *Adam* are Immortaliz'd. A single Man, to a single Woman, are not each properly speaking, but a part of themselves. These two half's together, make one whole. How unjust and cruel is it, to keep these imperfect Portions always naturally desiring to be joyn'd and destin'd to Union by Eternal Wisdom[1] in a state of Separation. Let us therefore conclude thus, Dear Companion, that Women are entirely all that's Fine in the World, all that is Lovely, all that is Necessary; and that we ought to be unspeakably pleas'd in Loving them, and being belov'd by them, as also in seeing them bring forth, and breed up the Pledges they give of Mutual Love. Call them Yoaks or Fetters, or what you please; and give the Union of Marriage the odious Name of Chains, but let us remember we are never weary of enjoying what we Love, and should not think it a tiresom slavery, to keep our Treasure a long time. Our sorrowful and imperfect Society, can have no

[1] Vide *La Manière de célébrer le Mariage*, in the old French Huguenot prayer-book. "Et ce saint Mariage institué de Dieu est de telle vertu, que par icelui le mari n'a point la puissance de son corps, mais la femme; aussi la femme n'a point la puissance de son corps mais le mari. C'est pourquoi étans conjoints de Dieu, ils ne peuvent être séparez," etc.

Relief, no Support here; we shall die, and our Island remain Desert. He who dies last, will have no Body to Assist and Comfort him, his Corps have no other Burial but the Belly of those filthy Batts,[1] that seem now ready to devour us alive. A little Water wou'd perhaps Refresh him in his Bed of Languishing Sickness, but his weakness not permitting him to fetch it, he will see himself consum'd by a heat without Remedy, and all his Distresses will be extream. Let us therefore save our selves from this fate, and for a more happy Society. We have Philosophers among us, who they say, love their Liberty; with all our Hearts, let them enjoy it. The Isle is their own, and they may be as free as they please in these Forests. They need not fear that any Nymph will come and trouble the Pleasures of their Contemplative Life. As for us, Let us go and submit to the agreeable Yoak (if it must be a Yoak) the amiable Yoak of those whose Victorious Charms ought in my Opinion to be preferable to the most sweet Oil of our Turtles. But we lose Time, we have said enough on this Subject; follow me, my Friends, and let us immediately think of what we ought to do, in order to our Departure.

The truth is, we rose up all hastily, and as if the question had been decided by an Oracle, not a Word was said, but of refitting the Bark, and preparing things necessary for our Voyage. However I made a new Proposition to gain Time, but they wou'd not hearken to me, and 'twas resolv'd we shou'd re-embark the next time the Moon was at the Full.[2]

Since nothing cou'd happen worse to me, than to Live and Die alone in an Island of the other World, I resolv'd, yet not without some contrary Reflection, to go with them. The day prefix'd arriving, we bad this Charming Island adieu, and with the Island, what is worst of all, we bad adieu

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 83. In orig. it is, however, "ces vilains *Rats*."

[2] At spring-tide.

to our true and noble titles of *Freemen*, to become e'er long the Sport and Prey of a little Scoundrel Tyrant.[1]

I have already shewn, that the day before our first Departure, we left a little Monument behind us, to inform all such as might one time or other happen to Land in this Isle of our Adventures. But that being very short, and containing some General Things, I had a mind before our second Departure, to add some Particulars in a little Writing, a Copy of which I have here very freely inserted. If the Reader is of Opinion that it breaks off the Thread of the History, it is easie for him to turn over and pass it by, and he will soon come at what he seeks after.

"Dear Adventurer:
Read, if thou wilt, this weak and slight Monument.
FRANCIS LEGUAT,
Who now writes these Lines with his own Hand,
Was born and honourably bred,
In the good and little Province of *Bresse*[2];
Which our Predecessors, call'd the Country of the
Sebusians[3] some thousands of years agoe.
'Tis a fruitful Peninsula,
Form'd by the *Rhosne* and the *Soane*.[4]
And blest with the most benign Aspects of the Father of Nature.
There I liv'd Innocently in Prosperity and Peace,
When an Irruption of wild Beasts,
Which rose out of the bottomless Pit,
Like a Vomit of Fire,
Impetuously falling from the horrible *Vesuvius*,[5]

---

[1] Diodati, Governor of Mauritius. (*Vide infra.*)

[2] Bresse was an old division of France, now comprised in the department Ain. It was obtained by exchange from Savoy in 1601.

[3] *Sebusians*, in orig., Sebusiens, probably a misprint for Segusiens, *i.e.*, *Segusiani*, a people of Gallia Lugdunensis, on the banks of the Rhône and Saone.

[4] In orig.: "le Rhône & la Saone."

[5] Max. Misson ascended to the summit of Mount Vesuvius in March 1688, and descended into the crater, which he describes as a vast subterraneous abyss. He gives a careful account of the volcano in Letter xxii.

Cruelly plunder'd my Habitation.
A little after a Hurricane quite over-whelm'd it,[1]
And Transported me and several of my Countrymen
Into the Republick, blest by Heaven,
Which is Famous all over the World,
By the Name of
HOLLAND.
I was scarce recover'd of the Fright I was in,
Which seem'd to me to be the effects of a Dream,
When a Voice call'd me
From within a Ship then ready to Sail,
I ran,
And after a long and dangerous Voyage,
I was brought to this Island with my Companions,
Whose Names are not unknown to thee;
And one of whom is departed a Moment since
For his true Country.
We have seen in this delicious Abode,
Two whole Revolutions of Years,
Which I thought was a little Golden Age;
I, who in an Age of Reflection,
Desire nothing more than what is truly Necessary.
But my Companions who were but just
Coming into the World,
And knew not the little worth of it,
Cry'd, that they wou'd have Wives.
Wives! said they, the only Joy
Of Man,
And the Masterpiece of the Creator.
The Latent Fire of their Imaginations Kindled,
They wou'd have Wives.
And such was the wretched Bridge[2] they made themselves,
To pass over it in quest of the Soveraign Good,
I must therefore stay here alone,
Or suffer my self to be torn away from my Repose,
By the Violence of the Torrent,
Which drove me into a thousand Dangers.
Pity my Destiny I pray thee,
Thou Dear Confident[3] of my Adventures;

---

[1] In orig.: "Incontinent après, un Ouragan m'enleva tout d'un coup."
[2] In orig.: "Et voilà un chétif Pont-volant qu'ils ont fait."
[3] In orig.: "Confidant."

And let no more hurt ever happen to thee,
Than what I wou'd do thee!
Further,
I cou'd not leave thee this Memorial,
In a more Universal and more Noble[1] Tongue,
Than that of Glorious and Formidable *France*,
My Dear and Desolate Country.
Given in the Palace of the Eight Kings of *Rodrigo*,
The Twenty First of the Month we call *May*,
And the Year which the *Christians*, Successors to the *Israelites*,
Compute to be One thousand six hundred ninety three
After the coming of the *Messias:*
The fourth Year of the Reign
Of the Most Wise and most Mighty Princes,
WILLIAM and MARY,
Defenders of the Faith,
Restorers of Religion,
And of Liberty when they were shaken in *Europe*.[2]
In that year of the World which no true Learned Man
Will ever be so bold as to pretend to Design,
Thou
Little and lovely Island,
I wou'd render thee famous above all the Isles of the East,
If my Power was answerable to my Will;
My Mouth confesses from the abundance of my Heart,
That my Soul is touch'd with Sorrow,[3]
Now I am about to leave thy wholesom Air,
Thy good Palm-Wine, thy excellent Melons;
Thy Solitaries; thy Lamentines;
Thy Hills always Verdant;
The clear Water of thy Rivers;
Thy fruitful and smiling Sun;
And all thy Innocent and Rare Delights.
Can I forget the precious Treasure of Liberty?
Thou shalt never be call'd Barren,
Since thou broughtest us forth Plenty of exquisite Meats;
And at the Day of Eternal Doom,[4]
A new ISAAC who has been sown in Corruption

[1] Plus honorée.
[2] In orig.: "que l'Europe voyoit ébranlée."
[3] In orig.: "triste regret."
[4] In orig.: "Rétablissement éternel."

In thy Earth,
Shall rise to Immortality and Glory.
O Isle, most desirable among the
Daughters of the Ocean!
How many good and laudable Things may be said of thee!
May a wiser and happier People than We,
One day Cultivate with joy thy fertile Soil;
And without Interruption, enjoy all thy Natural Riches.
May that People Multiply!
May they Prosper without Trouble and Alarms,
And no Successor in the Government,
Ever call thy Inhabitants his Inheritance,
And never become their Enemy and Destroyer.
May never King nor Viceroy suck thy Blood,
Nor break thy Bones.
May Heaven preserve thee from all wicked Judges,
From all pretended Distributors of Justice,
Who sit in the Seat of Discord, Rapine and Iniquity.
May Heaven preserve thee from the Pride of the Great,
And the Wantonness of the Rich.
May Heaven for ever preserve thee
From that pernicious Race of Animals,[1]
Who without Wisdom, Virtue, Courage or Honour,
Assume the fair Name of Noble.
May the Cry of the Poor in Distress
Never be heard on thy Coasts.
May never Begging Ambassador,
Carrying on his Shoulders
The Miserable Dirty train that seem to follow him,
Raise Pity in thy People.
May never any wicked Heretick, nor Orthodox Fool,
Nor rascally Monk,[2]
Trouble thy Peace.
May thy holy Religion never depend
On the Sword, or on Custom.
May no Sellers and Buyers of Holy Things,[3]
Ever set foot on thy Land.

---

[1] In orig.: "engeance de tout Animal."

[2] In orig.: "Religieux Scélerat."

[3] Max. Misson, writing from Rome, April 24, 1688, says: "I can't for my life see why the Church of Rome should make such a bluster to hide this Disgrace, when *Baronius* bestows the Title of *Monsters* upon several other Popes, and not without reason, considering the

May no Proud-youth and ignorant Declaimer
Ever sound his poor Orations in thy Land,
Nor his Antichristian Satyrs
Under the Name of Preaching.
May no unskilful Copyist, nor bold Parrot,
Have the liberty to pretend to teach thy People.
May thy sacred Sanctuaries.
(The Palaces of the Holiness of the Almighty,)
Never be miserably chang'd
Into Theaters, Shops, and Retreats for Robbers.
Let never Dispute upon a Word,[1] create Schism, Hatred or Cruelty
Among thy Children.
Let never any foolish or superstitious Bigot,
Corrupt or dishonour the Divine Laws,
By his Trifles or Fables.
Never let any Man by his extravagant Devotion,[2]

Enormities the Popes have been guilty of, distributing scepters and treading crown'd Heads under their Feet, notwithstanding they retain'd the qualities of Priests; and what is worse than all the rest, to set a certain rate of Absolution upon the most abominable Crimes that can be committed; witness the Book intituled *The Rates of the Apostolical Chamber* (sold publickly to this day at Paris), which I bought some days ago. 'Tis true they have since endeavour'd to suppress the Book, by inserting it in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the *Council of Trent*, but continue nevertheless in selling their Dispensations.

'Venalia nobis
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignis thura preces, Cœlum est venale Deus.'"

(*B. Mant*)

[1] Allusion to the dispute on the word *filioque* in the Creed between the Oriental Greek and Roman Churches. Writing from Venice, January 20, 1688, Max. Misson mentions with regard to this: "They (the Greeks) use Confession, but not after the manner of the Romanists: concerning the Article of the *Proceeding of the Holy Ghost*, they say as little now as they did formerly dispute upon it, looking upon it as a point that has more of nicety than usefulness; they also preserve Relicks, but never worship them." (*Letter xvi.*)

[2] In orig: "Que jamais extravagant Dévot."

Max. Misson, writing from Loretto, February 26, 1688, says: "But the greatest Curiosity is, the Processions of the Devotees, who crawl round the *Holy House* upon their Knees, some five times, others seven, and others twelve times, according to the different degrees of their

Expose Piety to Laughter,
Nor render the sacred Truths suspected, Scandalous and Ridiculous,
To such as want Knowledge and Discernment.
May Heaven to the end of the World preserve thee
From all these presumptuous Earthworms,
Who proudly boast they can explain Mysteries,
And pretend to Embellish[1] Faith and Worship,
According to their Folly or Rashness.
May no Astrologer ever be permitted in thy Common-Wealth.
No learner of passages out of Homer,
No Slave of musty Otho's,[2]
No Searcher after the Philosophers Stone.[3]
No Poetaster.
And may no Man be ever so Ridiculous,

Devotions; some of these creep along from one side whilst others meet them coming from the other, but all furnished with Beads and muttering *Pater Nosters*."

[1] In orig.: "qui s'érige en Embellisseur de Créance."

[2] In orig.: "Aucun Esclave d'Othons rouillez." This allusion is not too easily to be comprehended. Rusty Othons can hardly refer to the German Othos, Emperors, of the tenth century: can it not more probably have reference to the manuscripts and books relating to their deeds, as, for instance, Hroswitha, *de Gestis Oddonis?* The formidable Otho the Great died on Christmas Day, 967. The valuable chronicle, recovered by the industry of Pertz, records the death of Otho II; and Otho III, the religious Otho, was poisoned by the remorseless Stephania in 1002. (See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 389-418.)

[3] In orig.: "Aucun chercheur de Pierre Philosophale." Archbishop Gerbert, subsequently known as Pope Silvester II, who succeeded to the Pontificate in 999, was celebrated for his Arabian skill in arithmetic, geometry, and astrology, which he had studied under Caliph Hakim II, in Cordova. In remote Britain, according to William of Malmesbury, the magical arts and enchantments of Gerbert were commonly believed, and his funeral oration, in the *Vit. Pontif. Ravennat*, is "Homagium diabolo fecit et male finivit." Compare "Hist. Lit. de la France" and Vincent of Beauvais in the *Encyclopædia of the Middle Ages*. Gerbert, in Spain, fell in love with the daughter of one of those accursed doctors; he stole his books. The Magician, by the aid of the stars, pursued the robber. But Gerbert, too, had learned to read the stars. By their counsel he lay hid under a bridge, when the devil descended and bore him away, designing him for the Pontifical chair. (See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 419.)

As to hope to get Honour by vain Sciences,
Or other such like things which he has Learn'd,
And of which wise Men know only enough to despise them.
Mayst thou ever be defended
From the poor and wretched Set of Antiquaries,[1]
A Race of Monkeys, Parrots, and not of Reasonable Creatures.
May no mad Pedant
Ever dedicate, within the bounds of thy Coasts,[2]
The short course of his Life,
(Which ought to be imploy'd about Important Duties)
To such sort of Studies that bring Content to the Mind,
And that are made Famous only
By miserable Custom,
Founded upon popular Prejudice.
May never any Echo of the Multitude,
Be Taken by thee for anything else but an Echo.
May no Honourable Robber or Murderer
Set up the obliging Trade
To cheat thee of thy Money,
By shortning with Impunity the Days of thy
Inhabitants,
After[3] having a long time kept them on the
Rack in a Bed of Sickness.
May no unprofitable Visiters[4]
Ever come to disturb the good Employments
of thy Sages.
May never Dragoons,[5] nor Highnesses, nor Monks,
Nor Louvres, nor Dungeons,[6]
Nor Reprisals, nor Complements,
Nor Slavery, nor troublesome Fashion,
Nor Powder for the Cartridge or Dressing-Box,[7]

---

[1] "Secte des Anciennistes." [2] "Chez toi."

[3] In orig.: "Après les avoir martyrisez."

[4] In orig.: "Faiseur de Visites inutiles."

[5] "The Pope [*Innocent XI*], tho' really old and infirm, yet often makes the want of Health serve for a pretext to excuse his absence at those numerous ceremonies used at Rome. I had it from very credible persons that he did in no wise approve of the *French* way of converting People by *Dragooning*, and shew'd a great deal of aversion to those who pretended to propose certain methods of accommodation to him with the Crown of *France*." (Max. Misson, *Letter xxv.*)

[6] In orig.: "ni Cachets."

[7] In orig.: "Ni Poudre à poudrer, ni Poudre à Canon."

Ever be known
Among thy Peaceable, Reasonable, and Happy Society;
Mayst thou ever be free
From Fraud, Ambition, Avarice,
Tyranny, and all Villany.
May
Virtue, Wisdom, Truth, Fidelity, Innocence,
Justice, Safety, Abundance,
Happiness, Peace and Joy,
Make thy little Terrestrial Paradise the Desire or
Envy of all Men,
As a Tast or Semblance
Of the Paradise which the Angels
Inhabit."

As I had done writing these my Vows for this charming Isle, I remember'd I had read in the History of the *War with the Vandals*, written by *Procopius*, that when that Author was in *Africa* with *Belisarius*,[1] he found in a city of *Numidia* two Stone Pillars, on which was Ingrav'd this Inscription in the *Phœnician* Tongue; *We are some of those that fled from* Joshua *the Great Robber*.[2] I had neither Stone nor Marble to

[1] The greatest of Justinian's generals. He was born in Illyria, and his Slavonic name signifies "White Prince", or Bieli Tsar, the title usually bestowed upon the Emperor of Russia by Asiatics. The actual edition, probably, here quoted by Max. Misson was the following:—

"*Vide. Historia Gothorvm Vandalorvm & Langobardorvm: ab Hugone Grotio.* Amstelodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium (1655).

"*Art.* Vandalica et Gothica, Procopii emendata plurimis locis: accedentibus supplementis é Manuscriptis: & sic versa Latine ab Hugone Grotio.

"Procopii Cæsareensis Historiæ Vandalicæ Liber Secundus, p. 88.

"'Etiam in Numidia castellum posuere quo loco nunc urbs est dicta Tingis. Hic duæ stant é lapide candido columnæ propter magnum fontem, inscriptæ Phœnicias literas, quarum ex sermone Phœnicio hæc est interpretatio. Nos illi sumus qui prædonem effugimus Iesum Navæ filium.'"

[2] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, lib. II, cap. vii. The historian of Justinian's wars, speaking of the origin of the Moors in Africa, whom he identifies with the Gergesites and Jebusites and other nations overthrown by the Israelites when they entered Canaan, says these nations, seeing this new captain (Joshua) irresistible, removed from their own

make anything like a Pillar; but having a small piece of Vellom which may last as long as Brass, if 'twas kept in the Vial I have spoke of, I made a Draught of a Pillar after my Way; on the top I plac'd the Cross and Thorns of our Tribulations, wrote our Names[1] on one side, and these words on the other:

"We are some of those
Hundreds of Thousands
To whom Wings have been given
To
Escape the furious Dragoons[2]

---

country into Egypt, and finding no room there, went on into Africa, where they built many cities and possessed it all unto the Pillars of Hercules, and to this day continue there, using the Phœnician language. "In Numidia they built a castle where now is the citie of Tigisis. In which stand two pillars near the great conduit, with these words engraven in the Phœnician language: *We are they who fled before Joshua the chief, the son of Nun.*" (Holcroft's translation of Procopius' history, 1653; *The Vandal Wars*, p. 36.)

[1] The names appear as follows:—Franciscus Leguat; Paulus Be***le; Jacobus de la Case; Joannes Testard; Isaacus Boyer: Joannes de la Haye; Robertus Anselin; Petrus Thomas; Isaacus Boyer Mundo Valedicens Ad Celestem Patriam abiit Maj. D. 8 A. 1693.

[2] "The following inscription" (writes Max. Misson, dating from Strasburg, July 22, 1688) "was lately placed over the Gate of the *Manufactory Hall*, at Bern, the capital city of the most potent Canton among the Swiss:—

"'Tempore quo crassa Clericorum ignorantia, cum gratia & privilegio Regis in verum Dei cultum fureret, atque DRACONUM opera nos quos Huguenotos vocant, ferro flamma, & omnis generis cruce e regno pelleret, supremus Magistratus cruderibus Cinobii, olim Prædicatorium has ædes exstruxit, ut pietatem simul & artem GALLIÆ exulantes hospitalibus tectis exciperat; Fanit Deus T. O. M. ut charitatis hoc Opificium situri cremento patriæ.'

"This Inscription being, as I am informed, remov'd from thence in 1692" [this is a subsequent addition by Max. Misson in his translation of the original letters] "at the request of the *French* Ambassadour, I can't omit to give you a translation of it:

"'When the blind Ignorance of the Clergy, supported by the King's Favour and Authority, did exert its Rage against the true Worship of God, and by the force of DRAGOONS with fire and sword and all manner

Of
The Great Loyola."[1]

But after I had a little reflected upon it, two things oblig'd me to blot out this Inscription. First, I thought the Comparison was not very Just; and Secondly I imagin'd it might displease the *Jesuits*, a Venerable Society, somewhat false and Dangerous, 'tis true; but my Companions and I were very much oblig'd to them. I therefore took away this Inscription, and put two verses of *Virgil*[2] in the place of it;

of Torments, drove those call'd *Huguenots* out of the Kingdom, this House was erected by the supream Magistrates, upon the ruins of the old Monastery belonging formerly to the Predicant Friers, that Piety and Industry, banish'd at once out of *France*, might meet there with an hospitable entertainment: May it please the most Great and Good God, that this Charitable Act may tend to the advantage of our Native Country.'" (*A New Voyage to Italy*, by Maxmilian Misson, Done into English, Letter xxxv.)

[1] Ignatius de Loyola, the famous Spaniard who founded the order of the Jesuits, and inspired the King of Spain, Philippe II, to become the champion of Catholicism, under whom the dragoons of the cruel Duke of Alva inundated with blood the Flemish and Dutch provinces, 1568-1572.

[2] *Æneidos*, lib. viii, 333-336:

"Me pulsum* patriâ, pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
His posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis Nymphæ monita, et deus auctor Apollo."

(King Evander is speaking, and alludes to an accidental murder which compelled him to leave Arcadia):

"Myself, an exile from my home,
Went wandering far along the foam,
Till mighty chance and destined doom
Constrained my errant choice:
So came I to these regions driven
By warning from my mother given,
And Phœbus' awful voice."

Professor Conington's *Translation*.

Only the first portion of the Virgilian lines given above is inscribed

* *Me pulsum Patriâ* is changed into *Nos patriâ pulsos* in the inscription; *vide* frontispiece.

which represent our condition plain enough, as the Reader may see by looking upon the Pillar here presented to him. I do not love *Latin* in *French* Books, and indeed I have almost forgot all I knew of that Language, but 'tis difficult to Translate these Verses, without taking away their Force and Beauty.

on the simulated column as far as "locis"; afterwards is inserted: "An. Dom. M. DC. XCI. XXX Aprilis. Biennio cum 21 diebus ibidem peractis, Fragilem truci Pelago commissimus ratem. Die XX Maj. An. Dom. M. DC. XCIII."

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

[In the original French, Leguat's book is divided into two separate volumes, the "premier tome" occupying 164 pages of print, whilst the first part of the English version fills only 120 pages of larger size. The frontispiece of the first volume is repeated in the second, which fills 180 pages of type in the French, and 123 in the English edition. The Dutch version is in one small quarto volume, with 178 pages of text and 14 pages of index. This version has the dates given, in years, at the top of each page and marginal references, being also divided into chapters, the headings of which are given above at page lxiii.]

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OF

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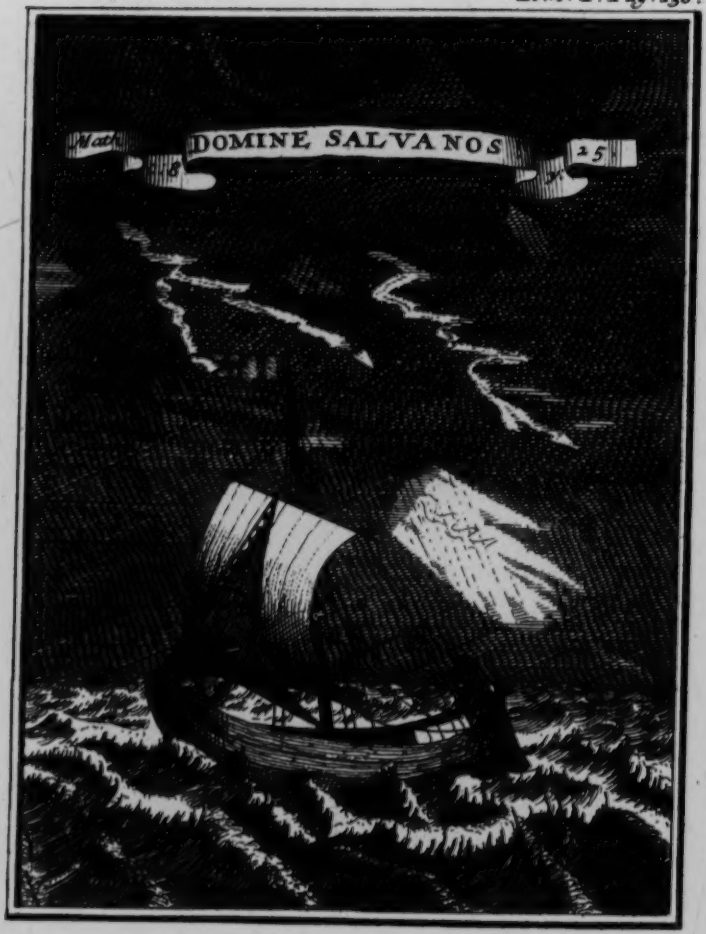
DOMINE SALVA NOS

THE VOYAGE

OF

FRANÇOIS LEGUAT

OF BRESSE

TO

RODRIGUEZ, MAURITIUS, JAVA, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE FIRST ENGLISH EDITION.

Edited and Annotated

BY

CAPTAIN PASFIELD OLIVER,

LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

"*Si forte necesse est*
Indicta monstrare recentibus abdita rerum."

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[2] Compare plant behind snake with *Goyavier*, p. 137 of De Rochefort. 1667.

[3] Compare plant by side of Hottentot man with figure of *Bananier* in De Rochefort.

[4] Compare plant by Hottentot with figure of *Papayer* in De Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles.*

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.

List of Illustrations, p. viii. *For* "Higgins", *read* "Higgin".

Editor's Preface, p. xi, seventh line from bottom. *For* "Van Kempen", *read* "Van Campen".

Introduction, p. xxxiii, line 7. *For* "furnishin", *read* "furnishing".

Author's Preface, p. lxxx, line 12. *Add* note below: "Variety." In orig.: "avec une Vanité. *Vide infra*, p. lxxxvi."

VOL. II.

P. 154, note 1. *After* "il prevint le pauvre la Haye", *add* "*i.e.*, he anticipated or forestalled poor La Haye."

P. 164, note 2. *For* "157" *read* "161". *Add*, "vide *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, p. cccxxvii.—'The Hollanders keep up their Reputation still here in India especially among the Portuguezes, for having been so well beaten by them not careing to heare of the Ffrenches Victory in Europe, and seeme to have an absolute antipathy to that Nation.'"

Pp. 207-208, note 4. *After* "known as the Sambur", *add* "*Vide ante*, p. 96".

P. 209, note 3. *Before* "Writing in 1769", *insert* "In orig.: 'L'Isle étoit autrefois toute remplie & d'Oyes & de Canards sauvages; de Poules d'eau; de Gelinotes. . . .' *Vide ante*, p. 81 *et infra*, pp. 334, 342, 343, 370."

P. 210, note 1. *After* "Appendix", *add* "D, p. 359".

P. 210, note 2. *After* "Appendix", *add* "D, pp. 369, 370, 375".

P. 210, note 4. *After* "*Coracopsis vaza*", *add*, "= *Falæornis eques*"; and *after* "grey head", *add* "*Psittacula cana*".

P. 211, note 1. *After* "Dutch-pigeon", *add* "probably *Alectorœnas nitidissima* (*P. Z. S.*, 1879, p. 2). *Vide infra*, p. 345."

P. 211, note 2. *Dele* "(*Coq de bois ?*)"; and *after* "black-birds", *add* "*Hypsipetes olivaceus*".

P. 222, note 2. A plan of Batavia, about the period when Leguat was confined there, is given in *Les Forces de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique, et Amérique*, published at Amsterdam by Pierre Mortier, after the year 1700, no actual date being given on the title. In this plan, probably drawn by N. de Fer, or Beaulieu, Leguat's account is confirmed in every particular. The bastion of the fort to the N., "le Diamant", to the E. "la Perle", to the W. "le Rubis". The

south bastion is shown as larger than the others, viz., "le Saphir". Opposite the south bastion, beyond the ditch, is a wide glacis on the land side, on which is conspicuously marked *l'Echafaut à faire Justice*, close by the stables of the Company's officials :—a significant indication of the cruel means employed by the Dutch to preserve a bloody discipline of terror over the slaves, blacks and natives. A ditch is shown around the fort, but it does not wholly surround it, and was probably more in the nature of a shallow inundation, being at some little distance from the base of the escarp of the ramparts of the *enceinte*. Doubtless, it was often dry, which would account for the discrepancy in the statements.

P. 259, top line of notes *For* "Father de Baupet", *read* "Father de Bausset".

P. 272, note. *After* "King of England", *add* "The Treaty had been signed on 11th Septbr., four months before Leguat heard of it when near the Cape."

P. 298, note 2. *After* "Captain Stephen Poirier", *add* "Vide *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii, p. xcvii, where Mr. Poirier is mentioned as Governor of St. Helena in 1704-5."

P. 358 "Oiseaux de Nazaret", line 358, *add* below note, "Cf. Bory de St. Vincent, vol. ii, pp. 305-306."

P. 374, line 18. "There is not a single living example left alive at the present day." *Add* below in note, "The last tortoise was killed in Réunion, at St. Philippe, by a creole, towards the end of the last century (cf. Maillard, *op. cit.*, p. 148). Bory de St. Vincent examined the carapaces of two of these tortoises in the year 1801, which he figured and described as *Testudo tricarinata testâ ovata oblonga tricarinatâ, postice obtusâ decem dentatâ*." N. Pl. xxxvii, fig. 1.—(*Voyage dans les quatre principales îles des mers d'Afrique*, vol. ii, p. 398.)

P. 405. *For* "Higgins", *read* "Higgin".

A. Rocher d'Exil.
B. Nouvelle Loge.
C. Ancienne Loge.
D. Islot dans lequel il y a des Arbres.
E. Islot de pur rocher, sans Arbres.
F. Brisans, ou rochers plats qui se découvrent à Mer basse.
G. l'Isle Maurice.
H. Le Fort.
I. Vaisseau Anglois à la rade.
MER
D'ETHIOPIE.

THE

VOYAGE AND ADVENTURES

OF

FRANCIS LEGUAT, Etc.

PART II.

At length the time for our Departure came, when having recommended our selves to the Almighty Power, which even the Winds and Seas obey,[1] we re-embark'd on our poor Gally, the 21st of *May*, 1693. At first we only made use of our Oars, little or no Wind being stirring; and also that we might more exactly observe the *Sea-marks*[2] we had set up, by which means we in a short time safely pass'd the Rocks and Shoals: But a Moment after, one of our Oars broke, as we were endeavouring to avoid the Rapidity of a Current which wou'd have hurry'd us into a dangerous *Eddy*[3]; and the Calm rendring our Sails useless, we thought we must inevitably perish. True it is, we were all seiz'd with a great fright, and I dare say, not one amongst us but wou'd have prefer'd a favourable Wind to the finest Woman in the World. At last a small Gale[4] arose, which assisted by our other Oar,

[1] *Vide* L'Evangile selon S. Matthieu, viii, 27: "Qui est celui-ci, que les vents mêmes et la mer lui obéissent?"

[2] In orig.: "les balises." [3] In orig.: "endroit."

[4] In orig.: "un peu de frais s'éleva." Compare Southey's *Thalaba*. *Vide infra*.

> "The little boat rides rapidly,
> And now with shorter toss it heaves
> Upon the heavier swell;
> And now so near, they see
> The shelves and shadows of the cliff,
> And the low-lurking rocks
> O'er whose black summits, hidden half,

help'd us to escape the Rock. There was another Rock about two Leagues off, towards which the Current, which was stronger than the Wind, was driving us; but the time we had to refit our Oar, made us likewise to escape that Danger.[1] I am asham'd to tell that such was the blindness of our Owners, that they had not provided us above two Oars: They thought, I suppose, that Precaution would have been needless, because they reckoned upon a Trade-wind, which wou'd infallibly have blown in our *Poop*[2]; but it was well for us, this instrument of our Deliverance was refitted, otherwise we had certainly gone to the Bottom, the Current dragging us along with Rapidity, in spite of the small Gale that assisted us. The Sea, which dash'd impetuously against the Rock we were apprehensive of, roar'd terribly[3]; and the dismalness[4] of the Night redoubled our Fears and Apprehension; nay, to compleat our Misery, the violent agitation

> The shivering billows burst;—
> And nearer now they feel the breaker's spray,
> * * * * *
> Now is the ebb, and till the ocean-flow
> We cannot over-ride the rocks."

[1] In orig.: "ce second danger."

[2] In orig.: "parce qu'ils comptoient sur un vent *alisé* qu'ils auroient, disoient-ils, toujours infailliblement en poupe," *i.e.*, "because they relied on a trade-wind, which they would infallibly have (they said) always astern"; meaning that they would be always able to sail before the east trade wind, which should be constant. The translator's expression, "blown in our *Poop*," may have been used in his day.

[3] See Map, p. 49. "The position of the reef is indicated by breakers even in the calmest weather. The outer edge is tolerably steep too, except in a few places, but, with the swell which generally rolls on to it, the sea often breaks in ten fathoms several hundred yards outside the actual shoal water. At 'Quatre vingt brisans', eighty breakers, the S.W. corner of the encircling reef, the edge is altogether broken up into detached patches, and in this part the breakers are heaviest. These reefs have been the scene of several wrecks, and it is remarkable that each vessel was reported to have struck at fifteen miles S.W. from land, although no reefs have been found to extend more than five or six miles off." (*Findlay*, p. 513. *Vide supra*, Introduction, pp. xlix, l.)

[4] In orig.: "l'inconvénient de la nuit."

of our Vessel made us so Sea-sick,[1] that we had hardly any strength left; and our Interpreter[2] himself, the Champion that had put himself at the Head of his Party, remain'd motionless in the Hold of the Ship. Then both he[3] and the other contrivers of this Enterprize, had reason to be convinc'd of the vanity of their Imaginations, in that they had form'd to themselves an Idea of the easiness of this Passage, while not one of them, but wou'd willingly have return'd immediately back,[4] had such a design been Practicable. But we were forc'd to continue in this sad Condition, from eleven a Clock at Night to two in the Morning; at which time we found we had pass'd all the Rocks,[5] by reason we heard no more the Waves beat against them. We had hitherto ply'd our Oars only,[6] but now we began to make use of our Sails, and take a little Breath. Next day we had the Wind very Variable, and for six days after, it was altogether against us; which, as we since understood, is not a little extraordinary in those Seas.[7] I remember we were oblig'd to throw our boil'd Provisions over-board being full of Worms, and reserv'd only a little *Lamatin* (a sort of Fish) broil'd,[8]

[1] In orig.: "nous mettait dans un accablement."

[2] In orig.: "notre harangueur."

[3] Probably Paul Bénelle. (*Muller.*)

[4] In orig.: "en arrière et regagner l'île; mais la chose étoit impossible."

[5] In orig.: "tous les pointes, & que nous étions assez avant en mer."

[6] In orig.: "Nous avions toujours ramé jusque là, mais alors, nous ne nous servimes plus que de la voile."

[7] The south-east "Trade-drift" current runs to the westward at the rate of twenty to twenty-five miles a day, between the parallels of about 8° S. and 27° S. It separates to the eastward of Rodriguez island into two branches, one flowing past the north end of Madagascar at the rate of thirty-six to sixty miles a day, and the other past the south end, at the rate of about fifty miles a day. This current enabled Leguat's boat to drift in the direction of Mauritius, in spite of the contrary wind. These temporary disturbances of the regular trade-wind are not very unusual at Mauritius from October to May. The creoles term these warm breezes "*vents Malgaches*".

[8] "Boucané." Cf. *supra*, pp. 76, 108.

and some Water-*Melons*, of which we resolv'd to content our selves with two or three Ounces a Day, to lengthen out our miserable Lives, in case we should have the Misfortune to over-shoot Isle *Maurice*, which was the nearest Land to us, and whither we were bound. This doubt of ours was well grounded, and 'twas no less than a Miracle, that we lit upon that Island, as I shall satisfie you more at large hereafter. The Wind which we had had almost contrary, even to the beginning of the eighth day of our setting Sail, was succeeded by a violent Tempest. The day began bright enough, but towards Noon the Heavens lour'd, and pour'd down such a prodigious quantity of Water, that our small Vessel had been soon filled with it, had not we labour'd incessantly at the Pump.[1] This Rain lasted above four Hours without any other Storm; but as soon as Night came, the Wind arose, and that feeble Light we had remaining, was follow'd by a profound Obscurity.

The Tempest encreasing, we were obliged to strike our *Main-Sail* and, as we could not keep our Lights in, and consequently not consult our *Compass*,[2] we made but little way, and suffer'd ourselves to be driv'n before the Wind with our *Fore-Mast*[3] up. The Night not continuing equally dark, we cou'd sometimes observe the *Vane*, which we endeavour'd

[1] In orig.: "à la vuider," *i.e.*, by baling out; they evidently had no pump.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 108. In orig.: "la petite boussole."

In *Harris' Voyages* there is a remarkable account of the wonderful escape of William Okeley and six companions, in an improvised boat of canvas, from slavery in Algiers, in July 1644. "The Directions they steered by in the Day time was only a Pocket-Dyal that one of the Company had, and they were in the Night guided by the motion of the Stars, and when they disappeared by that of the Clouds." (*Harris*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 17.)

[3] In orig.: "de gouverner vent arrière avec la *trinquette*." The translator is here also wrong in his technical terms. There was only one mast, so there could not be a fore-mast (*trinquet*). By *trinquette* is meant a sail, storm-jib, by which they were able to steer the boat and keep her before the wind.

not to lose sight of, because if we had not taken particular care to manage the Waves,[1] one of them wou'd have been sufficient to have over-set us. What gave us the more reason to apprehend this danger, was that our Vessel was *Deck'd* only at one end, as I have already observ'd, a fault committed thro' vain Hopes that we shou'd always have fair Weather, but we found ourselves very much out in our Calculation, for this Night was the most dreadful that cou'd be imagin'd. The Hurricane we underwent between the Cape of *Good Hope* and the Island of *Mascaregna*,[2] had been terrible enough, but then we were under the Conduct of experienc'd Seamen; and our Vessel was much better provided to resist a Storm than this poor Cock-Boat,[3] whose deplorable condition my Pen is not able to describe. Amidst these obscurities, the Heavens once more pour'd down a Deluge upon us, which indeed was like to overturn us. The Winds which a small shower sometimes abates, became now but more furious. Sometimes we were lifted up to the Skies, and then immediately precipitated to the profoundest Abyss. A certain Noise in the *Hold* of the Ship, occasion'd as we afterwards understood by the Water's squashing between two Planks, made the most Courageous of us squaul out from time to time, thinking it was our last Moment, each Shock making us believe the Vessel was about to Split. We look'd upon present Death as inevitable; we had lost our *Route*, and according to our Calculation, there was no likelihood of meeting with either Isle *Maurice*, or any other Land. Being under Despair, we knew not what to do, and debated whether we shou'd forsake the Helm, and without relying any longer on Humane Endeavours,[4] wait amidst our Prayers for our last

[1] In orig.: "parer la vague."

[2] The island of Bourbon, or Réunion, formerly known to the Portuguese as Mascarenhas; cf. *supra*, pp. 33-41. *Vide* App. A, p. 308 *et seq.*

[3] In orig.: "petite Nacelle."

[4] In orig.: "la prudence humaine."

Moment; but it was carry'd, it was our duty to make our utmost efforts to the end. This made us recollect our Courage, and some prepar'd to Swim at such time as the Ship should be swallow'd up.[1]

Whilst we were under this *Dilemma* of Life and Death the Sun began to brighten the *Horizon*, and the rage of the Wind ceas'd. The Sky clear'd up, and the Light as a Messenger of good News, made us to perceive a large *Cape*,[2] which belong'd to Isle *Maurice*. This sight caus'd no small Joy among us, and as everyone disengag'd himself from his

[1] In original the paragraph proceeds to some length, which has been omitted by the translator:—"Nous ne perdimes donc jamais tout-à-fait courage, & quelques-uns même se préparoient à nager, quand la barque seroit engloutie, pour prier & benir Dieu quelques momens encore. Si l'abatement extrême où nous nous trouvions, étoit causé par le grand travail, par l'inanition, par des sollicitations à un sommeil impossible, par les frayeurs redoublées qui nous environnoient, il étoit sans doute beaucoup augmenté par les secrets reproches que les uns se faisoient de s'être ainsi temerairement exposez, & les autres d'avoir été trop faciles à se laisser persuader. Néamoins, on dissimula toutes ces pensées-là, & on s'exhorta les uns les autres en toute douceur & charité fraternelle."

[2] This headland was probably the *Morne Brabant*, a fine mountain, 1,809 feet, which juts out very conspicuously at the south-west extremity of Mauritius. Mr. Pridham gives the following description of the landmarks to reach Port Louis in the north-west part of the isle:—"The circuit which was once made was very considerable, vessels being used to bear away nearly one hundred leagues, or as high as Rodriguez, as the wind and currents come from the east. The skill of later navigators has considerably contracted this *detour*, but it is still a hundred miles by the windward passage, whereas a short cut by the Morne Brabant (which is a conspicuous landmark to vessels approaching the island on that side) is only a third the distance. An officer of H.M.S. *Thunderer* states that it is not only the shortest, but the safest, course to adopt during the season of the south-easters, which always vary to the southward." (*Mauritius and its Dependencies*, by Charles Pridham, 1846, p. 255.)

It may be considered worthy of note, and interesting from a literary point of view, to draw attention to some lines in Southey's *Thalaba*, as they seem to have been taken from this description of Leguat. Curiously enough, the copy of Leguat, from which the present transcript has been made, was formerly the property of Robert Southey, and

Cloak, where we had as it were buried ourselves in expectation of Death, one might reasonably have taken us for so many Persons newly risen from the Dead. Hope soon took place of our dismal Apprehensions, and Strength returning to us at the same time with our Joy, we began to make Reflections at our ease. But we did not above all omit to admire the Divine Providence which had turn'd to good, all the Misfortune of that terrible Storm; for doubtless if we had not been forc'd out of the *Route* we propos'd to our selves, we had never lit on the Island where we design'd to Land.[1]

About five at Night, on the 29th of *May*, and the ninth Day after our setting Sail, we arriv'd in a small Bay[2] of Isle *Maurice*. We went up a tolerably large River with the Tide,

bears his name (it now belongs to the London Library), with date, October 13, 1813:

"The moon is sunk, a dusky grey
Spreads o'er the eastern sky,
The stars grow pale and paler;—
Oh beautiful! the godlike sun
Is rising o'er the sea!
Without an oar, without a sail,
The little boat rides rapidly;—
Is that a cloud that skirts the sea?
There is no cloud in heaven!
And nearer now, and darker now—
It is—it is—the land!"

[1] In the French edition Leguat adds to this paragraph, after the words, "jamais nous n'aurions rencontré l'Isle où nous avions dessein d'aborder," the following reflection: "nous étions perdus, si nous n'eussions été perdus"; quoting, as M. Muller points out, from the speech of Themistocles at Sardis, as given in Abbot Amiot's version of Plutarch's *Lives*:—"For he, being stept up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great traines of suitors after him by reason of his greatness; seeing himself one day very honourably served at his table, and with all sorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his children and said unto them: 'My sonnes, we should have been undone, if we had not been undone.'" (See Sir Thomas North's Translation, 1607.)

[2] Probably Port Souillac, at the extreme south of the island.

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and Landed at a Place agreeable enough, at the Foot of a small Mountain all cover'd with Trees.[1] We had been so tumbled in our poor Weather-beaten Bark, that we stagger'd about like so many Drunken Men, and were hardly able to keep our Legs, nor resist this kind of *Vertigo;* but a good Sleep, with some Refreshments that Hunting furnish'd us with, soon brought us to our selves again. Thus we escap'd the Desarts of *Rodrigo*, and the great Hazards of a terrible Storm. But Alas! Our new Island was no Port of Safety to us, for we got free of these Dangers, only to fall into greater, as we shall shew by what follows.

Being thus a little come to our selves, we re-enter'd our Vessel, and coasted along the Island in search of some Inhabited Place. After five or six Touchings[2] on the coast, where we always lay a Night or two, we came at length to the *Black-River*,[3] where we found three or four Huts inhabited

[1] In orig.: "de grands arbres."

[2] In orig.: "stations." The six river entrances on the south coast where the adventurers would have probably entered in their little cock-boat are marked on the Kaart van het Eyland Mauritius, by J. van Braam, ander de Linden, in 1729, as follows:—

de Jagers Spruyt,	now	Rivière du Poste.
Gansen Spruyt,	„	R. des Anguilles.
Lamotius Rivier,	„	Savanna R.
de Paling Rivier,	„	Jacotet R.
de Diepe Rivier,	„	Baie du Cap.
de Ananasse Rivier,	„	Baie de l'île Furneaux.
de Swarte Rivier,	„	Black River.

But the Swarte, or Black river, is put close to the North-west Port, whereas it is really twenty miles to the south of it.

[3] Black River is a rapid torrent, whose principal source is near Grand Bassin, a crater lake, on the high land, north of Mt. Savanne, whose waters are probably connected with the stream. The river takes its intricate course between the Tamarin and Savanne mountains, and draining the eastern slopes of the Piton de la Rivière Noire, the highest mountain in the island (2,711 feet elevation), flows westward through a precipitous wooded gorge and a fertile valley into a commodious bay where there is an anchorage, sheltered by coral reefs and defended by

by *Dutch* Families, who receiv'd us very kindly. These People have discover'd and cultivated as much Land, as they thought fit in a Pleasant and fertile Valley. Their Gardens abound with our Plants, as well as those of the *Indies*, and they have a particular fancy for Planting *Tobacco*. Their Back-yards[1] are full of our Poultry, which was no small Pleasure for us to see, after the long Residence we had made in our Island, where we had hardly met with any thing we ever saw before. I believ'd my Companions, who had been so long disus'd from Women, wou'd not be able to contain themselves, when they again beheld those amiable Objects, or at least that they wou'd surfeit themselves with looking on them; but I was not a little mistaken, when I found they were no more mov'd with them, than with the sight of Cows; so true it is, the shadow of Enjoyment many times mortifies the strongest Inclinations. The Huts of this little Colony were cover'd, in like manner with ours, with *Plantane-Leaves*,[2] but then the Roofs were higher, and the Rooms much larger, because this Island is less expos'd than *Rodrigo* to Whirl-winds and Tempests.

These good People live partly upon Hunting, having Dogs proper for that Sport.[3] After we had continu'd with them about a Month, five of our Company were pitch'd upon to go and give the Governor Advice of our Arrival. The Place[5]

batteries and a military port, now deserted. The locality has been celebrated by Bernardin de St. Pierre in *Paul et Virginie*.

[1] In orig.: "Leurs cours." [2] Leaves of the Latanier.

[3] *Vide ante*, p. 96. [4] In orig.: "eurent commission."

[5] The old Dutch seat of Government was situated on the north side of Grand Port (Warwick Haven), under the Bamboo Mountains. It should be remembered that this was in reality a penal or convict establishment for Batavia and the other Dutch Colonies, and that the interior was in the hands of runaway slaves and convicts.

The settlement was afterwards removed to the southern side of the bay, at the mouth of the Rivière Chaux, by Général de Caen, in 1805, and named Mahébourg, after M. Mahé de Labourdonnais.

The ruins of the old settlement of the Dutch Governors were stand-

where he Resides, bears the Name of *Frederic Henry*,[1] and lies on the South-East of the Island, about 28 Leagues from where we were. His name was *Rodolfe Diodati*,[2] and he was born at *Geneva*. Whilst our Deputies were going in search

ing till 1753, when they were entirely demolished by the French, and but little remains at Pointe de la Colonie of the New Mahébourg of de Caen, whilst only the site of the Dutch fort can be pointed out east of Bestel Cove. The bay retained the name of Grand Port or Port Bourbon. (See Pike's *Subtropical Rambles*, *op. cit.*, p. 324, and Appendix.)

[1] The year 1639 seems to have been the date of the first pioneer establishment by the Dutch in Mauritius under Commandeur Pieter de Goyer. It was abandoned by Adrian van der Stel in 1650, re-established by Maximilaan de Jong from 1650 to 1654, and again relinquished for five years, when Adriaan Nieuland formed a permanent settlement in the Zuyd Ooster Haven (where fort Frederik Henrik was built), in the Noort Wester Haven, and at the Swarte Rivier. (*Vide* Valentyn, *l. c.*, pp. 150-156.)

[2] In orig.: "Rudolphe Diodati, & est de Genève." Leguat's editor, however, corrects this statement of Leguat in the *Fautes à corriger* at the end of the volume, where he directs "Effacez & est de Genève"; and, moreover, at p. 61 of French version (*vide infra*), where Leguat writes, "Je ne pouvois pas même soufrir qu'il portât le beau nom de Diodati; & qu'il se dit Enfant de Genève", his editor has inserted: ("D'autres assuroient qu'il étoit né à Dort").

He appears to have been the son of Philippe Diodati, who was educated and brought up in Geneva, at the school of his illustrious father, Jean Diodati, the famous Genevan theologist, and the translator of the Bible into Italian (1630). Philippe Diodati migrated to Holland and was installed in 1651 as pastor of the Walloon church at Leyden. Philippe married Elizabeth, daughter of Sebastien Francken, *échevin* of Dordrecht, and had four sons, the second of whom, Jacques, was inspector of arms for the King of England (William) in Holland; the third and fourth sons were twins, viz., Rodolphe (or Roelof) and Jean, born at Leyden, 28th July 1658. They went to school at Dordrecht, and entered the service of the Dutch Company. Jean proceeded to Batavia, and died at Surat in 1711. Rodolphe became Onderkoopman and then Opperhoofd at Mauritius in 1692 to 1703. (See *Vie de Jean Diodati*, by De Bude, 1869. *Zaaken van het Eyland Mauritius*, by François Valentyn, 1726.)

Diodati was succeeded by Abraham Mommer Van de Velde, 1705 to 1710, at which latter date Mauritius was finally evacuated by the Dutch Company.

of him (one of which by the by was like to starve in the Woods, having stray'd from his Companions) he happened to pass by the Place where we were, in his Progress round the Island, which he was accustom'd to make every year. As soon as I came to know it, I went with the other Person that remain'd with me, and beg'd his Protection, which he granted with all the Civility I could desire, and gave me a kind Reception. When he and his Attendants had heard our Story, and considered our poor Vessel, they cou'd not but wonder at our rash Undertaking. The Governor promis'd to send us an Anchor, to a Port on the North-West side of the Island, which, he said, we might make use of, as occasion shou'd serve, in our way to his *Lodge*, so the Houses of the Governors of these Islands are call'd after what manner so ever they are built. He assur'd us at the same time, we shou'd want for nothing, and added we might thus wait at leasure for a Vessel that would arrive in a short time.

Upon these good Words, which he repeated several times, we left the *Black-River*, where our Companions had just joyn'd us, and soon got to the North-West Port.[1] As a fore-runner of the Misfortunes we were yet to under go, we found no Anchor there, as the Governor had promis'd, but instead thereof perceiv'd we had not those Instructions given us were necessary; for whereas they ought to have told us, how we were to continue our Voyage to the *Lodge* by Water, they let us know we must resolve to carry our Baggage by Land as far as *Flac*,[2] a small Village eight Leagues off, where

[1] The Noort Wester Haven, the modern Port Louis; at the extremity of which inlet was a Dutch camp, where a town arose, subsequently named St. Louis after his most Christian Majesty by the French in 1721. The harbour, well sheltered from the prevailing winds by an amphitheatre of mountains, was fortified by La Bourdonnais and became the capital city and seat of government in the island. (See Pridham, *The Mauritius*, p. 259.)

[2] Flac, or Flacq, formerly Flak, on the north-east side of the island, is one of the oldest settlements. The old Dutch road from Port Louis is

the *Company* have a Garden. As this was a *Force-put*,[1] we immediately resolv'd to undergo what was impos'd on us, and transported our Goods in seven or eight Turns; but which were very fatiguing, and wherein we many times lost our way by traversing untrack'd Forests.

Before we continue the thread of this Relation, it will not, I imagine, be foreign to the purpose, to acquaint you that as soon as we arrived at the *Lodge*, we found the Surgeon of our Vessel, one *Clas*, there, with the *Sieur Jacques Guiguer*, one of those Pilgrims formerly mention'd,[2] whom *Valleau*, our Captain, had forc'd from us at Rodrigo. He had his Reasons for playing us that Trick, and I suppose he had others for leaving *Guiguer* and *Clas* in Isle *Maurice*. For my part I shan't trouble my self to dive into these Matters; I shall only tell you in a word or two, what these two Men told us. They acquainted us, that a little after they had weigh'd Anchor in the Bay of *Rodrigo*, the Captain open'd our Letters, read them without scruple to the whole Ship's Crew, and afterwards threw them overboard: Whatever Complaints we made concerning this ill Treatment, had no effect upon him, and, to say Truth, we expected no better from him. They inform'd us likewise, that two days after their Arrival at Isle *Maurice*, *Valleau* continuing there at the same time, an *English* Captain[3] chanc'd to come in with his Boat, having sav'd himself from Ship-wreck with his whole Crew, when his Ship bulg'd on the Sands near *Rodrigo*.[4] That the said Captain

shown on the Admiralty chart, the distance being about 20 miles, but a railway now connects the two places. Flacq was in Prior's times distinguished for pretty scenery, gardens, and pleasant habitations; the district has now some 50,000 inhabitants. (Prior, *l. c.*, p. 53, *vide infra*.)

[1] In orig.: "un faire-le-faut."

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 55.

[3] In orig.: "un Capitaine *Anglois*, avec son équipage, y avoit abordé dans une Chaloupe, se sauvant du naufrage de son Vaisseau qui étoit échoüé sur un banc de sable (sans espoir d'être relevé par le flot) assez près de *Rodrigue*."

[4] Plank found, see p. 107, *ante*. "Bulg'd", probably for "bilged".

propos'd to *Valleau* to go to the said Ship, which yet appear'd above Water, and see if they cou'd save any of the Merchandize; that *Valleau* consented, and the two Captains with their respective Crews, took Oaths reciprocally to keep the Secret.[1] *Valleau*, who was oblig'd to give an account of his Actions to the Governor of Isle *Maurice*, then the *Sieur Lamocius*,[2] thought to conceal his Designs by telling him the eight Adventurers he had left at *Rodriyo*, being like to stand in need of Necessaries, he could not but esteem it the greatest Charity to send them some speedy Relief; and at the same time gave in a List of such things as he believ'd we wanted. This weigh'd very much with the Governor, to whom we had been earnestly recommended by the Governor of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and thereupon the former immediately order'd our small Vessel[3] to be laden with Deer, Calves, Goats, Hogs, Turkeys, Ducks, Poultry, Citron-Trees,

[1] In orig.: "qui apparemment paroitroit encore, dans l'esperance de s'enrichir, de plusieurs bonnes marchandises qu'ils en pourroient tirer: que *Valleau* topa, & qu'ils firent un pieux serment, les deux Capitaines & leur équipage, de tenir leur vol bien secret."

[2] The Sieur La Mocius, or Lamotius, was the fifth Governor appointed to Mauritius after its resettlement by the Dutch. He succeeded Hubert Hugo, and was predecessor of Diodati.

Hubert Hugo, Commandeur of Mauritius, left the island in 1677. "His place as Governor (Opperhoofd) was then taken by the (Onderkoopman) Lieutenant-Governor Isaäc Johannes Lamotius. The latter was stationed here for fifteen years, till the year 1692. He traversed the island in all directions. Once he undertook a journey of twenty-one days to see how large it was in circumference. He marched daily three, four, five, or six miles along the coast, cutting off a corner here and there, and computed the circumference to be sixty miles. He left for Batavia on the 12th February 1693 by the (fluit) ship *Duif*."

"His (Lamotius') place as Governor was taken, in 1692, by Herr Roelof Diodati, Onderkoopman.

"The latter remained here till the end of 1703, when he left for Batavia, where his wife died on the 6th March 1704; but his Excellency became Governor in Japan and held this post till 1721 (in which year it seems to me he must have died)." (Valentyn, *Beschryving van de Kaap der Goede Hoope.—Zaaken van het eyland Mauritius*, p. 155.)

[3] In orig.: "nôtre Hirondelle."

Orange-Trees, *Ananas*, *Banane*-Trees, Vine-Plants, Tobacco, Potatoes,[1] Rice, Millet, and other Trees, Fruits and Grains in great abundance. But all this was only a Pretence in our good Captain; for either out of Malice or Avarice, he depriv'd us of every Jot of those good things which had been so charitably sent us. This, it may be, caus'd his Enterprize to Miscarry; for after he had sail'd several times to and fro in sight of our Island, and rounded the Bulg'd Ship as many, he was roughly repuls'd by the revenging Waves, and cou'd not recover the least part of what he pretended to.[2] This is what we learnt from the *Sieur Guiguer* and *Clas*. Now let us return to our unfortunate Adventures.

John de la Haye our Gold-smith, having several ponderous Tools which incommoded him, he resolved to sell part of them to one of the same Trade, whom he met with at the North-West Port. Among these Tools was that fatal Lump of Amber-greece[3] formerly mention'd, which had been found at *Rodrigo*, and weigh'd about six Pounds. *La Haye* having ask'd the Gold-smith what it was, he answer'd coldly, it was a sort of Gum[4] made use of in the Isle of *Maurice*, instead of Pitch, and that great quantities of it were to be met with about certain Trees, but that it was worth little or nothing. *La Haye* giving credit to this Account, and having no occasion for Pitch himself, he let the Gold-smith have it into the

[1] In orig.: "Patates," *i.e.*, a species of yam.

[2] In orig.: "Il passa & repassa à la vûe de notre isle; & partie par malice, dont il étoit bien pourvû; partie par chagrin du mauvais succès de son entreprise, car ils furent rudement & dangereusement balotez, par les flots vengeurs, autour du Navire échoüé [bilged?] sans en pouvoir jamais rien arracher, il nous priva vilainement de choses qui auroient fait de nôtre Rodrigue une véritable Eden: si ce fut pour nôtre mal, ou pour nôtre bien, Dieu le fait."

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 87.

[4] Of the Terebinthaceæ growing in Mauritius, the Colophane Mauritiana, one of the largest trees in the island, bears purple blossoms and yields a resinous gum, which serves, instead of pitch, for caulking vessels. (Pridham, *op. cit.*, p. 362.)

Bargain, only he kept two or three small pieces out of Curiosity.

Next day somebody having informed him that this insignificant[1] Gum was really Amber-greece, he went, in all hast, to the Gold-smith to demand the lump of Pitch again of him; but he answer'd, he had pitch'd his Pails with it, and therefore could not restore it to him. This occasion'd great Heats, and they parted with a great deal of Anger, the former threatening the latter, to complain of him to the Governor. Now, as the Gold-smith that bought this Amber-greece, had several times found of it at Isle *Maurice*,[2] and knew that the Inhabitants were forbid either to buy or sell it under severe Penalties, being obliged to carry all they got

[1] In orig.: "prétendue méchante gomme."

[2] Some islets off the north-east coast of Mauritius bear the name of les Iles d'Ambre. The value attached to ambergris by Leguat is doubtless due to the fact of its being a highly esteemed article of trade in the 17th century. It is mentioned among the products of the Japanese archipelago, and it was imported into Siam by the Dutch. Thos. Pitt, writing in 1699, from Fort. St. George, Madras, says that "a very stately piece Ambergriese, upwards of 800 oz.", had been sent from Batavia. Cf. *Hedges' Diary* (Hakl. Soc.), iii, 49; *English Intercourse with Siam*, Trübner's Oriental Series, pp. 21, 96; and Francis Pyrard de Laval tells us how, in the Maldives, "All wreck found on the sea-shore is immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares to keep it; no more than Ambergreese, called by the Maldivians *Gomen*, which is more plentiful here than in any part of the Indies, and which is so narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own use loses a Hand." Cf. his *Voyage* (Hakl. Soc.), vol. i, p. 231, and see Mr. Gray's note, *ibid.*

"On this shore there used to be washed a good deal of beautiful Amber, the price of which had been fixed before at two Rix dollars and a bottle of *arak* per ounce; but as Herr Lamotius bid five Rix dollars for the ounce, he obtained a piece of six pounds, and afterwards many other pieces which were pretty heavy. They thus entered into an agreement with some Burghers, on account of the Company, and to clinch the bargain these made the Company a present of one pound. This lasted one or two years that the Amber was delivered to the Company, according to the agreement; but afterwards they themselves begged to be released from it." (Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 153.)

to the *Company*, and part with it at a certain rate; he to prevent[1] poor *La Haye*, went immediately and carry'd the lump of Amber-greece to the Governor, telling him after what manner it came to his Hands. *La Haye* hearing this, went likewise and made his Complaint, but the unjust Judge, being prepar'd, and Self-interested, assur'd him that lump of he knew not what, was no Amber-greece, but a certain Gum of little or no value, and which he knew by experience. *La Haye*[2] reply'd, he had reserved several pieces of it, to justifie the truth of what he asserted, and therefore demanded Justice: What further plainly shew'd it to be true Amber-greece, was, that certain days after the Contest, the Gold-smith that purchas'd it for Pitch, had been so unadvis'd as to offer 60 Crowns[3] for the pieces that remain'd, which we look'd upon as done by the Governor's Order, who could now no longer dissemble his sentiments. It appear'd by their Subtleties, that the greater part of this Amber-greece had been melted, no body knowing what to make of it, and that only a small piece remain'd, which being produc'd, was adjudged to belong to the *Company*, and sent to *Batavia*. He of our Companions that was a Druggist,[4] and very Skillful in his profession, had learnt at *Rodrigo* that this lump was really Amber-greece, but he dissembled what he knew, and pretended in spite of our Suspicions that it was no such thing, out of hopes, I suppose, that he might one day have an opportunity to appropriate it to himself. This was so much the greater Villany, in that

[1] In orig.: "il prévint le pauvre la Haye."

[2] In orig.: "Le Suppliant."

[3] Sixty crowns, soixante écus. The crowns or écus mentioned by Leguat were rix-dollars. Computing these at 50*d.* modern money, the value of 60 crowns would be £12 10*s.*, the amount offered for the fragments of the ambergris that remained. (See Theal's *History of South Africa*, vol. ii, Pref., and p. 122.)

[4] Jean Testard, a druggist, a merchant's son of St. Quentin in Picardy. (See *ante*, p. 6.)

it not only occasion'd us the Misfortunes that happen'd afterwards to us, but likewise depriv'd us of an Opportunity of enriching our selves by searching for more Amber-greece, which we might undoubtedly have found in great quantities in that Island, during the stay of two years we made there; besides, 'tis likely we might have stay'd much longer there on that account. I cou'd bring divers other Reasons to prove that the Druggist must needs have known it was Amber-greece from the very Minute it was brought into the Hutt at *Rodrigo* by *La Haye*, but I shall insist no more upon that Point.[1] I have already told you, the first time we saluted the Governor, he received us with great Civility, and promis'd us all the best Treatment we cou'd desire; but as soon as ever this business happen'd we were at a Loss for all those fine Promises. As we cou'd not attribute this alteration in his Humour to any Disrespect we show'd him we did not doubt but he was chagrin'd on account of mis-carrying his Point. He had reason to apprehend we might relate this Story at *Batavia;* and that the *Company* might call him to account for the Wrong he did, first to us that had found this Amber-greece in an Island that belong'd to no body, and consequently we ought to have been left quiet possessors of it: And Secondly to the *Company*, in case it had been adjudged to have been their Right. All this consider'd, made him to form a barbarous Resolution[2] against us, as shall appear hereafter. The first Injustice he did us, was to seize upon our Vessel without letting us know a word of it, and the second was burning it.[3]

Instead of restoring our Sails, which were made of a good piece of *Flanders* Cloth, he gave them to his Hunts-Men to

[1] "Ce fut lui qui aiant appris à *Maurice*, que *La Haye* avoit donné *gratis* un si grand tresor, avertit, mais trop tard, que c'étoit de l'Ambre," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "Ce fut pour cela, qu'il forma la resolution de nous perdre par les barbares & infames moyens qu'on verra dans la suite."

[3] "Quelques jours après," omitted by translator.

make Cloaths, and this notwithstanding all we could say to him.

He began likewise to give us Instances of his Hatred and Malice, by lodging us in a Hutt where we had nothing sent us to eat but what the *Company's* Servants had left.

Afterwards he kept us in a manner Prisoners, by forbidding us to go beyond our Hut above a thousand Paces. He took the only Servant[1] that remain'd to us away from us, and listed[2] him in the *Company's* Service; so that he whom we had brought from *Rodrigo* having likewise joyn'd with him, our Number was reduc'd to Five.

These methods of Proceeding, so contrary to the Civility we at first receiv'd, gave us reason to apprehend that worse would follow. Nevertheless, we rely'd entirely upon Providence, which had hitherto assisted us in all our Calamities.

But as in all Societies there are some Spirits more restless and impatient than the rest, two of our Number, viz. the *Sieurs La Case* and *Testard*, projected to retrieve our ill Circumstances by a Proceeding that to speak Truth, was not altogether Just. This was, as a Reprisal for our Vessel and Sails, to seize upon one of the *Company's* Chaloupes,[3] and make our escape to *Mascargena*[4] which was not above twenty-five Leagues from Isle *Maurice*. Now as they thought, whatever colour they might give to their Design, the two others and I would never approve of it, they did not think to let us know

[1] Peter Thomas and Robert Anselin. Cf. *supra*, pp. 6 and 51.

[2] A custom had come into vogue of allowing soldiers and convalescent sailors to engage for short periods as servants to burghers, their wages and cost of maintenance being thus saved to the Company, while they were at hand in case of need. (*Vide* Theal's *History of S. Africa*, vol. ii, p. 30.)

[3] Hence our word "shallop".

[4] "Mascaregna." In orig. "Mascargna," the island of Bourbon, the high mountains of which are sometimes visible, at sunset, from Mauritius, the distance between the two islands being about ninety-five miles.

any thing of the matter.[1] However, as they could not well execute their Purpose without Assistance, they apply'd themselves to a Soldier of the *Company's*, one *John Namur*, who had giv'n them to understand, he was not over-well pleas'd with the Governor.[2] This Soldier no sooner came to know their Secret, but he went and acquainted the Governor with the Proposal that had been made him, adding that three of our Number[3] were entirely Innocent, and knew nothing of the Plot. Some Weeks pass'd before the Governor took any notice of what had been Reveal'd to him, causing, nevertheless, our Conduct to be strictly observ'd, especially that of the Accus'd. But perceiving at length that nothing came of all his Politicks,[4] and fearing if he delay'd any longer, he might altogether be depriv'd of his Revenge, he on the 15th of *January*[5] in the Night, sent a Troop of arm'd Soldiers to seize on us, who Conducted all five into his Presence. The first words he spoke were to justifie us Three that were Innocent, declaring he all along knew we were guiltless, and therefore had nothing to say to us. After having put some questions to the other Two, they own'd ingenuously the Design they had, but added withal, that the Vessel we had lost was worth more than the Chaloupe they design'd to take, insinuating moreover that their Intention was to pay for it,[6] as the Soldier himself confess'd. We were, however, all hurry'd away together, both Innocent and

[1] "Ils se cacherent même si soigneusement que nous n'eumes aucune connoissance de ce qu'ils vouloient faire," omitted by translator.

[2] "& ils lui proposerent d'être de la partie pour s'en aller avec eux," omitted by translator.

[3] In orig.: "les trois camarades des deux accomplices."

[4] In orig.: "Mais voyant que le dessein qui lui avoit été découvert par le Soldat n'avoit aucune suite; & craignant, sans doute, que ces pensées, dont il ne faisoit qu'attendre l'exécution pour user hardiment de grande rigueur, n'eussent été aussi-tôt dissipées que conçues,"

[5] A.D. 1694.

[6] In orig.: "de laisser de l'argent pour le payement de cette chaloupe."

Guilty,[1] to an obscure Prison which I may well call a Dungeon, and there laid in *Stombs*.[2] These *Stombs* are a sort of Stocks compos'd of two thick Beams of Wood, which having two Semicircular Holes made in them, were let down upon our Ancles; moreover, we were to lie upon the Ground with our Heels higher than our Heads, which is a Posture you may conceive not very easie. The difference between us Three, and our two Comrades that had own'd their Crime, was, that they had the next day Irons of thirty Pound weight added to their Misery. We continu'd in this bad Condition two Days and two Nights, at the end of which we Three that were Innocent were set at Liberty. We were immediately carry'd to the Governor as before, who declar'd to us anew, that our Innocence was well known to him, and that we had been entirely clear'd both by the Accuser and the Accused. He added moreover Treacherously,[3] that he should always have a kindness for us, and that we should find our Treatment answerable to his Promise at our first

[1] In orig.: "prétendus coupables."

[2] In orig.: Ces *Stombs* sont composez de deux pièces de bois assez grosses, dont l'une s'abaisse sur l'autre; & qui ayant chacune une double échancrure faite en demi rond l'une vis-à-vis de l'autre, sont ensemble, quand elles sont approchées, deux trous où les jambes se trouvent passées & prises si au juste, qu'il n'est pas possible de les retirer." The word "*Stombs*" given in the French edition, as well as in the English version, is not recognisable as a Dutch term; indeed, the Dutch translator of the book in Leguat's own time renders the word *balk* or *balken*, *i.e.*, clamp or clamps, which are simply pieces of wood like the old-fashioned English stocks, celebrated in *Hudibras*. The French word *bloc* (or *estrapade*) is the nearest French equivalent. In the frontispiece of a curiously illustrated work on the Dutch criminal jurisprudence —*Practycke in Criminele saecken ghemaeckt*, by Joost de Damhouder (Rotterdam, 1642)—there is a representation of the Dutch *balken*, in which the wooden blocks are broader, taller, and more square than those of the old English stocks.

[3] In orig.: "ce Dieu-donné indigne," omitted by the translator. A play upon the name "Diodati", evidently derived from the Latin; indeed, Misson may here intend a covert allusion to the Pope Adeodatus, the successor of Vitalianus, A.D. 672-676. (*Vide supra*, p. 65.)

coming, not forgetting to insinuate how much we were oblig'd to him for thinking our Sails worthy to Cloath his Huntsmen, and for giving us his Servants Bones to pick, but all this while he took no notice of the Injury and Injustice he had just done us. All these kind Promises however vanish'd in a Moment, for he soon after set Guards over us, who waited upon us Day and Night. Some few days after one came by his Order to seize upon all we had, Money, Arms, Husbandry-Tools, Kitchin-Utensils, Bed-Cloaths, Table-Linen, and in a word, almost all we were Masters of, excepting a little Linen, our Beds, our Cloaths, and part of our Books. Our Gold-smith too had all the Instruments of his Trade taken from him, not leaving him so much as one. After this we were put into a Chaloupe together with the Accus'd, who were strip'd to their Shirts and loaded with Irons, without knowing what they intended to do with us, but we soon found to our Cost and Detriment. We were Transported to a Desart and frightful Rock[1] about two

[1] Off Grand Port the outer edge of the reef lies two or three miles from the shore, and on it are several rocks and islets in the southern part, the most conspicuous of which is the Ile de la Passe on the north side of the principal entrance, and half-a-mile west of the lighthouse on Fouquier or Fouquet's Island, with a small islet (Vacoas I.) between. On Ile aux Fouquets now, is a lighthouse 84 feet high, and Vacoas Island is apparently the one on which Leguat and his companions dwelt in their enforced exile. It is 2¾ miles to the eastward of the nearest point of the mainland, and on the very edge of the coral reef, which stretches away to the north. On this reef are more islets, viz., Marianne I., Bird I., and Fous I. All these islands are hollowed out by the waves in many places, forming caverns that undermine them to some distance. There is a large tank which is capable of containing a supply of fresh water for the use of the light-keeper and his family, brought over in barrels from the mainland every day, when the boats take provisions and oil, etc., and stored there, as the place is often inaccessible for days together at high tides and in stormy weather.

The Ile de la Passe was formerly defended by a battery, and some old-fashioned rusty mortars and guns were, not long since, lying neglected in the ruins of the ramparts and defences cut out of the rock.

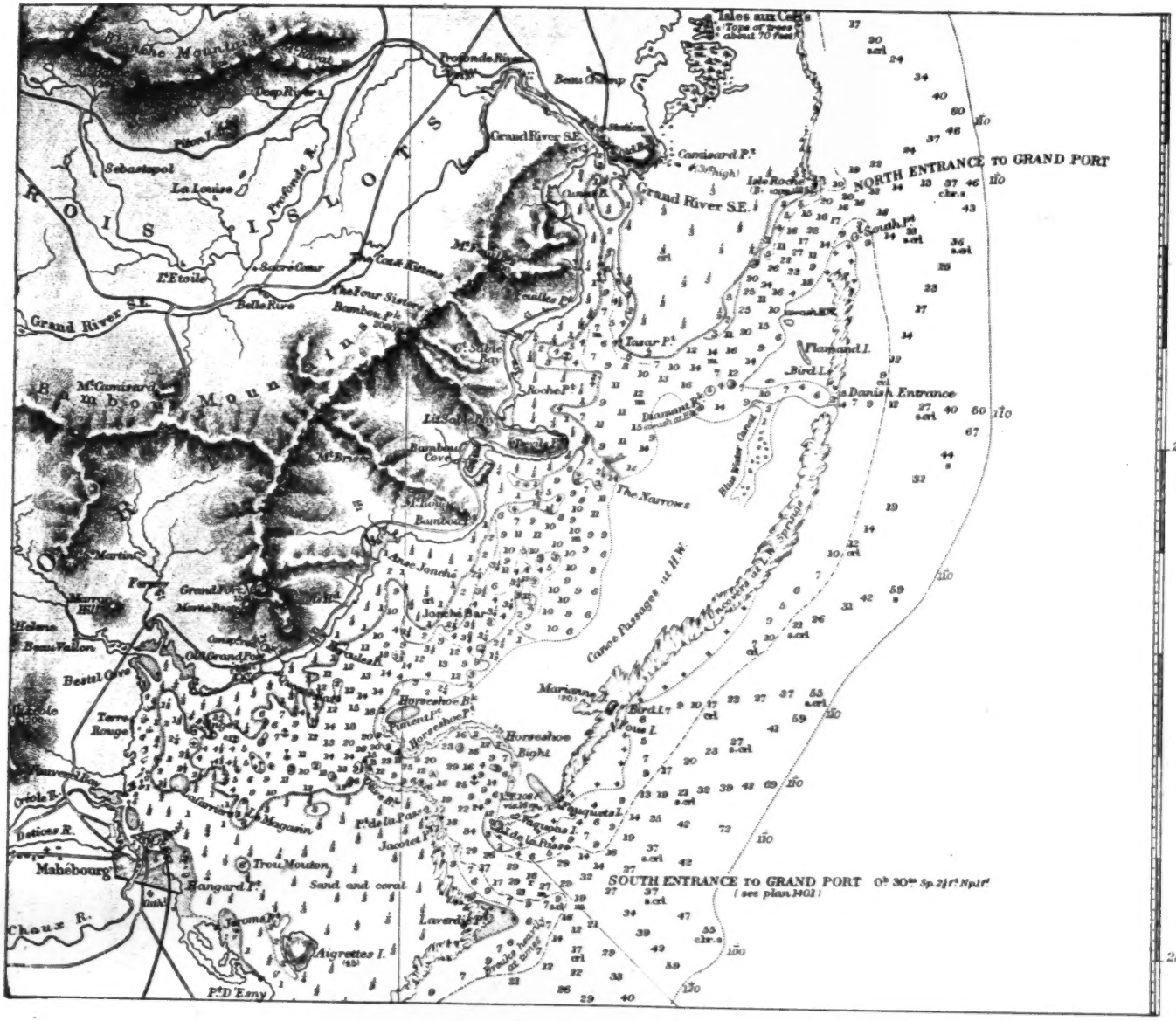
The graves of several French and English soldiers, who at various

hundred Paces long, a hundred broad, and near two Leagues from Shoar: Here we were to live, tho' it was almost impossible to walk, by reason of the many Holes and sharp Stones we were to tread upon. 'Tis true, we cou'd sometimes go to some neighbouring Islands, which I shall speak of hereafter. They settled us here in a vile Hutt, built upon an Eminence near the Sands and Shoals, and about two Paces from the Sea when it was full, and exactly in the season of the *Hurricanes*. This Hutt, half ruin'd by Time, and which it was impossible for us to Repair, having nothing to do it withal, had formerly serv'd for a Prison to some Criminals who a few years before had been banish'd thither.

This was the place my Lord *Diodati* was pleas'd to send us to, and where we continu'd near three years, I mean such of us as did not die before that time. Thus we became the sad Representations of those unhappy Flying-Fish, who have no sooner escap'd the Jaws of one Enemy, but they fall into the Claws of another. This wicked Governor fed us only with Salt-flesh which was often Corrupted, as may easily be imagin'd, if one considers the excessive Heats of these Countries. Our Water likewise almost always stunk, because it was brought us in Vessels that were never clean, and we had never enough of it neither. At first we had our Provisions every eight Days, but afterwards they did not come in fifteen,[1] and sometimes in twenty, so that we had hardly ever any Refreshment. Thus either through the Malice of our Persecutor, the Negligence of his Purveyors or oftimes bad Weather, we were obliged to stint our selves to shorter allowance of Meat and Drink, than we had ever done, however nauseous and unhealthful the miserable Nourishment was that was brought us. All this occasion'd us to desire Netts

times garrisoned this rock, testify to the engagements which took place in the vicinity before the island was captured in 1810. (See Appendix.) (*Vide infra*, p. 163.)

[1] In orig.: "de quinze en quinze, & quelquefois plus rarement."


NORTH ENTRANCE TO GRAND PORT
SOUTH ENTRANCE TO GRAND PORT
Grand River S.E.
Grand River S.E.
Isles aux Cerfs
Top of trees about 70 feet
Deep River
Sebastopol
La Louise
Profonde R.
L'Etoile
Sacre Cœur
Belle Rive
The Four Sisters
Bambou Pt.
Grand River S.E.
Mt Camizard
Bambou Mountains
Mt Bruce
Martin
Ferney
Grand Port
Morne Blanc
Morne Bay
Helene
Beau Vallon
Old Grand Port
Bestel Cove
Terre Rouge
Oriole R.
Delices R.
Mahébourg
Trou Mouton
Hangard Pt.
Sand and coral
Chaux R.
Aigrettes I.
Pte D'Esny
Jacotet Pt.
Pte de la Paix
Magasin
Horseshoe Pt.
Horseshoe Bight
Jonchi Bar
Canoe Passages at H.W.
Marianne
Bird I.
Fous I.
Paquets I.
Pte de la Passe
Pte de la Passe
Garnieard Pt.
Isle Rocks
Tasar Pt.
Roche Pt.
Diamant Pt.
Flamand I.
Bird I.
Danish Entrance
The Narrows
Blue Water Canal
Lavergne Pt.
Trouée heard at Buoy
20'
25'

for Fishing, and Vessels to catch Rain-Water in, but we were deny'd both one and the other. It was impossible but all this ill Usage, and bad Diet, must alter our Healths, and more particularly mine, for I was then above three and fifty years old. At first I was attacked with a sort of Malady, which we *Frenchmen*, in that Country, call'd *Le Perse*.[1] This was a continual flux of Blood, by which I was in a very short time reduc'd to a very lamentable Condition: My Distemper encreasing to a dangerous Degree, the Governor was advis'd of it, and desir'd to let me be brought back to his Island: He sent a Surgeon, who after he had visited me, declar'd, I should never recover unless I went a-shoar; but his Opinion had no better success with the cruel Governor, than my Prayers: for he desir'd nothing more than to see us all Perish.[2] He was conjur'd at length to send at least once in fifteen days some fresh Provisions, that I might have some Broth made me, but which was likewise barbarously refus'd; so that wanting everything that was proper for me, I was at last brought to Death's Door. My Cure was absolutely despair'd of; but as there was no Body on that Rock that

[1] Dysentery. M. Le Gentil, in a letter to M. de la Nux, in 1769, writes: "Le flux de sang, on le connoît à l'île de France, & je crois qu'il est de tous les pays: il doit être mis au rang des grands incommodités de l'Inde; cette maladie est presque toujours très-longue, & quelquefois suivie de la mort." (Vide *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, vol. i, pp. 675-676.)

[2] In Mr. Beaulieu's *Voyage*, we read of the cruelty of the Dutch to their French prisoners:—"For they threw the sick men like so many logs of wood out of the ship into the boat, and some they dragged through the water with a rope fastened about 'em, particularly one who being so dragg'd, expired immediately upon the rocks on the shore"; and the English as well had their share, for when Lantore was sacked by the Dutch in 1620, Mr. Spurway writes: "Our factors there present were stripped, bound, beaten, tumbled over the town-wall, dragged along the street with fetters about their necks, and afterwards laid fast in chains. They were not so kind as to execute them outright, living being then a far greater punishment than dying." (Vide *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i, pp. 195, 247.)

would undertake to dispatch me in form,[1] Nature began to fortifie her self a little, and I quickly recover'd as it were by a Miracle. If the good Reader is touch'd to see me in so sad a Place, and so sad a Condition, he will no doubt be glad to hear how in the Moments which I thought the last of my Life,[2] I directed divers pious Exhortations to my Companions, which I trust have not been unprofitable to them.[3] Young people may think and talk what they please, but after all they must die; and Happy, thrice Happy[4] are they who are truly prepar'd for their last Hour. The Sieurs *La Case* and *Testard*, the two Persons Accus'd, were likewise attack'd with the same Malady some time after; but as they were young, and of a stronger Constitution than I, they resisted the Distemper better. We had continu'd in this miserable Condition near four months, when on the 15th of *March* 1694 we saw a Dutch Vessel call'd the *Perseverance* come into the Harbour of the Island[5]; which according to the Law of

[1] In orig.: "mais comme il n'y avoit personne sur ce Rocher qui entreprit de me faire mourir *dans les formes*, la Nature se fortifia peu-à-peu d'elle-même; & *en de meilleures formes*, je me trouvai bien-tôt en quelque façon rétabli." Again another sly cut at the professional doctors—a reminiscence, as Muller points out, from Molière's *Amour médecin* (Act ii, 50).

[2] "& la fin de toutes mes misères, Dieu me fit la grâce de me donner assez de présence d'esprit pour adresser à mes Compagnons," omitted by translator.

[3] "& pour leur donner aussi des marques qui les édifièrent, de ma résignation, & de mon Espérance," omitted by translator.

[4] In orig.: "Et heureux! véritablement & uniquement heureux, quiconque n'oubliant jamais l'inévitable nécessité de ce dernier départ, se tient toujours prêt à le faire."

[5] There are three entrances to the *Zuyd Ooster Haven* of Mauritius, the principal port of the island, or *Grand Port* of the French. The southern entrance is the least intricate, and this is the one depicted by Valentyn in his folio. It can be easily made out now by the lighthouse, but in olden days the *Drie Gebroeders*, as the islets were then named, formed the northern arm of the passage. The remarkable bluff mountain, 1,583 ft. high, named the Lion's Head, but called de Zaal Berg by the Dutch, must be kept on a N.E. by N. ¼ N. bearing in making

the Country, ought to Transport us to *Batavia*, or the *Cape*, whether Criminals or not; but we were acquainted by our Purveyors, that we must not expect to go with that Vessel. This made my two Companions and I, who were not in the case of the Accus'd, take a Resolution to hazard all, rather than not go a-shoar, while the Officers of the Ship newly arriv'd were there, to the end that we might make our Complaints in their Presence. But the execution of this Project was highly difficult; we wanted everything that Men could want; the Passage was two Leagues, and above all, we could not judge whether the Current ran out to Sea or towards the Shoar. Nevertheless, that there might be nothing to Reproach us with, we made a Float of Sea-Weeds, and fastened to the two ends the two Hogsheads[1] we Kept our Water in, when the *Sieurs Be—le* and *La Haye*, those two of my Companions that were Innocent, tho' treated like Criminals, ventur'd to Sea upon this sort of Floating Bridge[2];

the Pass. When entering the channel keep the Lion's Head bearing N.E. by N. ¼ N. until the centre of the Ile de la Passe bears E. by N.; then steer for the rock of the Devil's Point, which will bear E.N.E., and after running three-quarters of a mile, bring up in about thirteen fathom, sand and gravel. It was doubtless by this channel and at this point that the *Perseverance* came in and anchored. (*Vide* Findlay, *op. cit.*, p. 511. *Vide supra*, p. 155.)

[1] In orig.: "barriques."

[2] "At last, when care had banished sleep,
He saw one morning—dreaming—doating—
An empty hogshead from the deep
Come shoreward floating.

"He hid it in a cave, and wrought
The livelong day laborious, lurking
Until he launched a tiny boat
By mighty working.

"Heaven help us, 'twas a thing beyond
Description wretched; such a wherry
Perhaps ne'er ventured on a pond
Or crossed a ferry.

and being better Swimmers than the rest of us, and more able to bear fatigue, they arriv'd safe at the Island in twelve Hours.

They found at the Governor's House,[1] who was very much surpriz'd to see them, the Officers of the Vessel, before whom they made their Complaints; demanding that we should be sent away pursuant to the general Orders, and the Custom of the *Company*; and moreover, according to the repeated Promises the Governor had made us. They added, That if the Accus'd were to be retain'd, that was yet a Cause to be try'd; but as for us that were Innocent, and had been so declar'd twenty times, we ought to be treated after another manner.

Diodati not being able to contradict this Truth, answer'd, He had nothing to say against us Three; only, if we had not been so well treated as we expected we must impute the Cause to our Comrades, and that we being all *French*,[2] he could not trust one more than another; a reason altogether impertinent, and which was laugh'd at, as it well deserv'd.

The Officers hearing what was said, and believing so bold and sincere a Proceeding as ours seem'd to be, could not come but from a good Conscience, they conceiv'd a good Opinion of us; and altho' our Enemy the Governor had

> "For ploughing on the salt sea field
> It would have made the boldest shudder—
> Untarred, uncompassed, and unkeeled—
> No sail—no rudder."
>
> (T. Campbell, *Napoleon and the Sailor*.)

[1] At Fort Frederik Hendrik. (See plate, taken from Valentyn.) In the distance the *Drie Gebroeders*, the centre one of which was the Rock of Exile, are plainly visible, 2¾ miles distant.

[2] The war of the League of Augsbourg was in progress, and Louis XIV was successful at this period in the Low Countries, where Maréchal, the Duke of Luxembourg, had won victories at Fleurus, Steinkerk, and Neerwinden. Hence the hatred of the Dutch for the French. (*Vide* p. 157.)

endeavour'd to perswade them we were nothing but Scoundrels : [1] Villians, yet they saw plainly they had been impos'd upon by him; however, they could do us no Service, being not qualified to determine our Cause,[1] only we hop'd they would intercede in our behalf, and report the State of our Case to their Masters. When our two friends found that the Governor pretended still to be apprehensive, least we should escape with some one of his Chaloupes, they offer'd themselves voluntarily to be laid in Irons again, chusing rather to undergo anything a-shoar, than be conveyed any more to that miserable Rock, but even this was refused: Being order'd to Prison they were put in the *Stombs* as before, and next Morning early were convey'd to us, with express Orders not to stir from thence on the severest Penalty: And to the end we might no more pretend to come to Land, they sent us back but one Barrel, and that without a Head.

The Officers were nevertheless sufficiently inform'd of our Condition, as well by what they had from the Governor and our two Comrades Mouths, as by a Memorial[2] which was slily slipp'd into their Hands; where, among other Things, they were desir'd to make known to our Relations in *Holland* how we far'd, that they might procure us an Enlargement.[3] These Gentlemen, mov'd at our ill Hap,[4] were so kind as to come and visit us on our Rock, that they might more fully inform themselves of the Truth of what we asserted. They were then altogether convinc'd of the Hardships and Barbarities we underwent, and found we had inserted nothing in our Petition or Memorial but what was too true; nay, this inhumane Usage so incens'd them, that they vow'd to see our

[1] In orig.: "n'étant pas en droit de demander à entendre les témoins."

[2] In orig.: "une requête circonstantiée."

[3] In orig.: "afin qu'ils tâchassent d'y apporter du remède."

[4] In orig.: "nôtre lamentable condition."

Grievances redress'd,[1] and, moreover, assur'd us it was no fault of theirs if they did not receive us on board; but that they could not do it openly, without the Consent of the Rascally Governor, who, they could plainly perceive, was highly averse to it. However, they told us if we could so contrive as to get on board them, without any manner of Assistance of theirs, then they said they both could and would receive us, and we should be transported whither we pleas'd. Some few Days after they sent us out of Charity three hundred Weight of Rice, some white Biscuit and a few Bottles of *Aqua Vitæ* and *Spanish* Wine.[2] All this was highly useful to us afterwards, especially the Rice, which we sometimes stood in great want of. These Provisions we took a great deal of care to conceal in the Holes of the Rock, lest they should come to be seen by the Seamen that brought us our Prog, or lest that malicious Devil *Diodati* should order them to be taken from us. Now as our good Friends the Officers had promis'd to take us on board, in case we could get to their Ship without their Help, we, like drowning Men that catch at any thing, made two Attempts for that purpose. *La Case*, who was a good Swimmer, us'd his Endeavours to get to them that way, which was yet not a little dangerous to do, by reason the Passage to the Ship was a good half League, and that Sea exceeding full of Sharks, which are

[1] In orig.: "qu'ils nous protestèrent qu'ils mettroient tout en œuvre pour tâcher de nous soulager."

[2] Mr. Francis Willoughby, whose ornithology has been before quoted by Misson (*vide supra*, p. 15), mentions the Spanish wine he found at Huesca in 1664, as a yellowish white wine like sack. The Spaniards, he said, made great vessels of goatskin to put wine in, and lesser bottles which were called *Bótos*. They seldom mingled water with their wine, it being a common saying among them, "*Vino poco & puro*," though all over Spain the wine was very hot and strong. (*Vide* Francis Willoughby's *Voyage through Spain*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. ii, pp. 595, 597.)

The *Aqua Vitæ* of the translator is *eau-de-vie* in the original; in this case probably the spirit made by the Dutch and called *Hollands*, or corn brandy.

very dangerous Creatures. Notwithstanding all this, after we had a long while work'd at getting off his Irons, by rubbing them with Stones, and the like, he being at liberty, put himself into the Water. When he had swum above three-quarters of the way, his Strength began to fail him, and, having both the Wind and Tide against him, could not advance a jot; moreover, the Waters covering him every Moment, hinder'd him from making any sign of Distress. All this consider'd, the Seamen perceiving him, began to think him in danger; therefore hoisting out their Boat, immediately row'd to his Assistance, and came just in time enough to save him. When they had brought him to the Ship, the Captain kept him till such time as he had recover'd his Spirits, yet afterwards sent him back again, but with his Assurance, that it was with all the Regret imaginable he did so. I am of Opinion he herein acted a little too cautiously, and that whilst those Gentlemen were with us we might have concerted Measures of saving our selves without exposing them to any Danger.[1] As they were thoroughly satisfy'd we were Persons unjustly detain'd, and inhumanly treated by that cruel Hangman[2] of a Governor who would needs be both Judge and Witness in his own Cause; they might so have order'd Matters as to have cast Anchor, seemingly

[1] "The captains of ships in the service of the Dutch East India Company are obliged, by their articles, to consult their lieutenants respecting the course to be steered; and if they cannot agree, a council is to be summoned, consisting of the five principal officers on board, including the captain, where the matter is decided by a majority of votes. This council likewise takes cognizance of whatever, not relating directly to the navigation of the ship, may be called extraordinary circumstances; and determines, among other things, respecting the diminution or increase of the allowance to the crew; the touching at any places for reparation or refreshment; the time to be passed there, etc., as per Arts. III, IV, V, and VI of the East India Company's *Artikel-brief*, or articles of agreement, entered into by the persons in their employ." (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, i, p. 162.)

[2] In orig.: "par un voleur & un Bourreau."

and without any Design, nearer to our Rock, which was free for them to do, or at least sail'd so near us on their Departure, that they might have pretended it but common Charity to have taken up poor Wretches whom they saw floating on the Water on Planks, without troubling their Heads any farther. Moreover, 'twas probable for them to imagine some Vessel had been shipwreck'd, and that we five were part of the Crew that had labour'd to save our Lives, and stood in need of their Relief. Let what Difficulties then will be rais'd, a way might have been found out to have dealt with them; and if any Dangers were to be apprehended in *Holland* or at *Batavia*, it is we must have answer'd, who broke our Chains, and surpriz'd our Deliverers, and not they, who would have been suppos'd to have known nothing of the matter. But nothing of this came into their Heads, and the poor *La Case* return'd the same Evening, very much concern'd, that he could not bring his end about. This ill Success of his, occasion'd others who were preparing to attempt the same method of Escape, to alter their Resolutions.[1]

Some few days after the Ship went and anchor'd above a large League from us, yet we resolv'd to make a second and new Attempt. For this purpose we ty'd all our Chests together after we had fill'd them with what we had left, and made a sort of Float,[2] thinking to reach the Ship while it was Night, that we might not be discover'd from the Island. As I was generally Sick, they were fain to carry me to the Machine, soon after which we put ourselves off to Sea; but met with such rapid Currents and Eddy's,[3] that we thought we were happy that we could get safe back again. Thus we were entirely disappointed of all Hopes of freeing our selves

[1] In orig.: "voyant qu'il leur seroit impossible de réussir," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "radeau," *i.e.*, raft.

[3] In orig.: "des courants rapides & contraires, il nous fut impossible de les vaincre."

by these means; for soon after the Ship set Sail in earnest, and we heard no more of her.[1] One day as the Governor was going to be marry'd to the Daughter of an ancient inhabitant of the Island, he happen'd to be in so good a humour, that he order'd me to be brought a-shoar. I had then languish'd under my Infirmity eight Months, which he very well knew. Tho' I were thus fortunate, I had no opportunity to serve my Companions, since I never saw the Governor; yet I reap'd this advantage to my self, that being better fed, and having better Air to breath in, I began to recover part of my former Strength. In the mean time my two other innocent Companions, who still remain'd with the Accus'd, having a long time resisted the Inclemencies of the Air by their Youth and Vigour, fell sick of the same Disease that I had.

They wrote as soon as they possibly could to the Governor, to intreat him that they like-wise might come a-shoar, offering to do any work for the *Company* without Wages, but they were not heard. Then they beg'd of him to send them some fresh Provisions, which prevail'd on him one day so far, that he sent them a Calf, giving them at the same time to understand, that if any of them all did but presume to come a-shoar on the Island without his Leave, they should repent of it as long as they liv'd.

They continu'd in this bad Condition till the season of the Rains and Winds came, which very much augmented their Indisposition. The Ninth of *February*,[2] they underwent a

[1] In orig.: "nous vimes partir le Vaisseau avec le chagrin qu'on peut s'imaginer de ne nous en aller pas avec lui."

[2] 1695. According to Mr. Theal, this storm occasioned such severe loss to the Company that it was one of the causes that led to the abandonment of the colony in the island. (Vide *History of South Africa*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.) Baron Grant says: "The general state of the weather throughout the year is as follows:

"January.—Rainy and warm. Storms, which are sometimes accompanied by thunder, though by no means violent; and, as the tempestuous

furious Hurricane. That dreadful Tempest over-turn'd the greatest part of the Hutts, and more solid Buildings of the Island; all the Plantations were destroy'd, and a great number of Trees torn up by the Roots. None knew where to shelter themselves, and even those that were in the strongest Stone-Houses were hardly secure.

What then, thought I, must become of my poor exil'd Brethren, whereof one, the Sieur *Testard*, had but that day let himself Blood with a Pen-knife? Their vile Hut was carry'd away like a reed, and what remain'd of their Provisions, etc. was wet by the Rain and spoil'd; nay, 'twas a particular Mercy they were not carried away themselves by this Whirl-Wind; for had not Providence directed them to a Hole in the Rock, or a Cave,[1] they had been in Danger. Here they peaceably sung the praises of the Almighty amidst the Tempest, tho' sore afflicted with Hunger, Cold and Sickness. They continued there twenty four Hours and above,

season approaches, all navigation is suspended till the month of April, when the fields become green and the whole landscape assumes a more cheerful appearance.

"February.—Violent gales of wind and hurricanes, with thunder. These hurricanes, which till the year 1789 were constant in this month, have since that time entirely ceased; but the inhabitants have not a sufficient dependence on this circumstance as to be wholly unprepared for them, in case they should return and renew their former ravages." (*Op. cit.*, p. 12.)

[1] "And like a living grave
Below the surface of the lake
The dark vault lies wherein we lay,
We heard it ripple night and day:
Sounding o'er our heads it knocked;
And I have felt the winter's spray
Wash through the bars when winds were high
And wanton in the happy sky;
And then the very rock hath rock'd,
And I have felt it shake, unshock'd,
Because I could have smiled to see
The death that would have set me free."
(Byron, *Prisoner of Chillon*, vi.)

without daring to peep out, during which the sick Persons suffer'd exceedingly. The hard-hearted Governor[1] nevertheless had no Pity upon them; on the contrary, two days after they had undergone these Torments, he had the Inhumanity to order, without any Reason or Pretence, that the two accus'd Persons should be chain'd together, notwithstanding they were already in Irons, and so weak, thro' Sickness, that they could hardly stir.

Over and above a Bloody-Flux, which one had been tormented with above a year, he had likewise a lingering Consumption. 'Tis true, they were not bound above ten Days, but then they were still continu'd in their first Irons; and the sickest of them was conducted a-shoar and put in the *Stombs* in Prison. Fifteen days after, the Tyrant who sported with us just as a Cat does with a Mouse, order'd him to the Rock again, whatever the Surgeon could say to the contrary; and made me be carry'd along with him, without suffering me to see or speak with him. Altho' I was pretty well recover'd, I was soon overtaken with my Bloody-Flux, and whatever Instances I could make to come a-shoar again were rejected. This *Busiris*[2] would needs Murther us with a slow Fire, not daring to do it all at once.

[1] In orig.: "avec son cœur de *Pharaon*," omitted by translator.

[2] *Busiris*, the son of Neptune and King of Egypt, who sacrificed his guest Thrasius, who had prophesied that the inundation of the Nile would take place only by human sacrifice. This experiment was also about to be tried on Hercules, but the hero slew the tyrant. Ovid frequently alludes to him, and, considering Leguat's aversion to Latin verses, this classical quotation would seem to belong to Misson.

"Sævior ea tristi Busiride: sævior illo,
Qui falsum lento torruit igne bovem."
(*Ovidii Nasonis Tristium*, lib. iii, 39.)

"Si te vidisset cultu Busiris in isto;
Huic victor victo nempe pudendus eras."
(*Epistolæ Heroidum*, ix; *Deianara Herculi*, 69.)

"Ergo ego fœdantem peregrino templa cruore
Busirin domui?"
(*Metamorphoseon*, lib. ix, 182.)

The Sieur *Testard*, one of the Accus'd, finding his Malady encrease to a dangerous Degree, did all he could to be likewise carry'd a-shoar, but in vain. He wrote Letter upon Letter, offered to part with all he had in the World; and in fine, consented to be laid up in the *Stombs* in Prison if he might but have this Favour, but all to no purpose.[1]

At length perceiving all his Endeavours fruitless, he resolv'd to pass over without leave, in case he could bring his design about, and to seek for that Relief in the Woods from Brutes, which one, who call'd himself a Christian, refus'd so obstinately. But before we enter upon that melancholy Adventure, and to interrupt a little so disagreeable a relation, I thought it not improper to insert here a few Particulars of the Place of our Exile, and of divers Matters that happen'd there to us.

As we did all we could to divert our Melancholy, some amongst us that were Ingenious, amus'd themselves with making Hats of *Plantane*-Leaves.[2] There were some of these Trees in one of the two Islands that lay on each side of our Rock, as may be seen by the Map. We could go to these Islands at low Water in the full and new of the Moon, so that it was not very difficult for us to get those Leaves. This Invention did not only serve to divert us, but likewise procur'd us Sustenance; for those that brought us our Provisions, were so taken with our Ingenuity, that we gained their Affection considerably by presenting them with some of

[1] In orig.: "mais rien de tout cela ne fut écouté."

[2] In Baron Grant's map, south of the Ile de la Passe and Fouquets I. is an islet named the Ile des Vaques. This evidently was the islet where Leguat's party obtained their *plantane* leaves for the hats. If so, the name "plantane" was applied by Leguat to the *Pandanus* screw-pine as well as to the *Latanier* palm. The name Vaquoas I. is now given to the centre island, and the south island is named the Ile de la Passe. At the north-east entrance of the port, opposite Both's Bay, in Van Braam's map is marked "*Zandplaat met een Klapper-boom*"—a sand-bank with one Filao tree. It seems that there were more trees on these islets in those days than there are now.

them. The Inhabitants of the Island also were so well pleas'd with our Work that they sent us fresh Provisions, unknown to *Diodati*, in exchange for some of it. These Refreshments were a great Comfort to us, and we got some sometimes from those that brought us our Salt-Edibles. As we had always been very desirous to take some Fish to relieve our Necessities, and were frequently refus'd even the very pieces of our Netts to fish with, we thought of an Invention to serve us instead of them. The Hurricane having left some ruins of our Hut, we took a long Pole and having found a large Nail among the Boards,[1] we fixed it with the point outwards, at the end of the Pole, and with that instrument darted the Fish where-ever we could see them. Now between the Rock and the Road where the Vessels ride, there is a large space which remains dry when the Sea is gone out, as it always does at the full and new Moon. There, at certain distances, you find Pitts of three or four Foot deep, where the Sea ever leaves some Fish when it retires. It was in these Pitts or Pools that we darted the Fish we speak of.[2]

After we had once hit upon this Invention, we made so good use of it, that we never wanted Fish. We made Provision of them for eight or ten days, and had a way to keep them Sweet. We one day darted one, or rather knock'd him o' th' Head, that was like to have cost us our Lives. It was a frightful Sea-Serpent, which weigh'd about 60 Pound, and which we in our great Simplicity, took for a large *Lamprey or Eel*.[3] This Animal seem'd to us very extraordin-

[1] In orig.: "que nous trouvâmes parmi des morceaux de vieilles planches qu'on nous avoit apportées pour faire du feu."

[2] In orig.: "avec nôtre bâton ferré," omitted by translator.

[3] Col. Pike, American Consul at Mauritius in 1887, relates, in his *Subtropical Rambles*, how he caught a monster cave eel on the reef in Mapou Bay, some twenty miles from where Leguat had been imprisoned: "This monster eel measured twelve feet three inches in length, and round the largest part of the head fourteen and a half inches. The

ary, for it had Fins, and we knew not that there were any such Creatures as Sea-Serpents; Moreover, we had been so accustom'd to discover Creatures that were new to us, both at Land and Sea, that we did not think this to be any other than an odd sort of Eel that we had never seen before; yet which we could not but think, more resembled a Snake than an Eel. In a word, this Monster had a Serpent or Crocodiles Head, and a Mouth full of hook'd, long and sharp Teeth, not unlike those of the Rattle-Snake so well known in *America*, but much larger. This is a strange Eel quoth we, what Teeth he has! But have not Sharks, Pikes, and a thousand other Fish Teeth too? No matter, Teeth or not, we must tast of him. We then began to poult[1] him about the Mouth and Head with our Pole, and at length carry'd him off in Triumph, like *St. George* when he kill'd the Dragon. We found his filthy Flesh very tough, and of a bad Tast; so that as good luck would have it, we swallow'd none[2] of it, it being in truth Poyson. We were all over-taken with a strange Weakness, we sweated exceedingly, we vomited even

head of this species terminates in a blunt point, the two small eyes not more than an inch from the end. The large mouth is filled with long, sharp teeth, even the roof is covered with these formidable weapons. This eel is very dangerous, but not so common as reported. There are several species of this genus, but none so large as this" (p. 346).

Col. Pike was also attacked on the reefs off Pointe aux Caves by an eel called Anguille Morèle: "He was about three feet long, and when I struck at him he came directly towards me, biting at my boots. I beat him off and speared him. This singular eel is banded black and white, edged with salmon colour, and has one round black spot on the white bands. It is a fierce, voracious creature, bolder than a snake, and in his rage he runs his head out of the water like one. The bite of this eel is venomous, I am told, but I have not heard of any accidents from it." (*Ibid., l. c.*, p. 286.) The present writer saw Captain Hay-Hill, Consul at Réunion, severely bitten by an eel, when gathering shells at Black River, in 1864. (Cf. *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, Appendix B.)

[1] To kill poultry: an old hawking term. (Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic Words.*)

[2] In orig.: "nous n'en mangeâmes guères" (we ate but little of it).

Blood, and for my part, I can affirm with a great deal of Sincerity, that I was terribly Sick: For a Month together I felt sharp pains in my Belly, and ever every day towards Night, I had a fit of a Fever,[1] a Distemper altogether unknown in this part of the World. My Companions were all sick likewise, and in this bad condition we made Signals to demand Relief, but in vain. When our Purveyors came, we related to them what had happen'd to us, and shew'd them the Eel's Head, but they only said they had never seen the like: These sort of People take but little notice of any thing. At length we began to come to our selves again, fully resolved to eat no more of that sort of Eel, for it never came into our Heads that it was a Serpent: Nevertheless we were ready to leap out of our Skins, when the Governor sent us a Salt-Hind,[2] and certain dangerous Citrons,[3] which always do harm; he had his Reasons for it, I suppose, for he did not think fit to assassinate or poyson us openly.

As we had no likelihood to get rid speedily of our unhappy Confinement, we thought it but Prudence to manage[4] our Rice, which the Sea-Officers had left us, cautiously: We eat of it but twice a Week, and when we did it was a feast to us. After we had reduc'd it to Meal, we mix'd about two pounds of it with a certain sort of Gourd[5] well enough tasted, which some of our Correspondents in the Island had sent us privately in exchange for our Hatts: We had a kind of Game

[1] In orig.: "accident d'autant plus notable que la fièvre est une maladie inconnue dans ces pais-là." Mauritius was considered healthy prior to the terrible epidemic fever of 1866, which almost decimated the inhabitants. This peculiar fever is now endemic in the low parts of the island.

[2] In orig.: "de la Biche-en-rut."

[3] Possibly the *Vontac*, *Strychnos Vontac*, or *Vangassaye*, *Citrus Vangassaye* (?); the citrons, oranges, and shaddocks of the island are wholesome enough.

[4] In orig.: "de menager," to husband, to economise their supply of rice.

[5] *Cucurbita poteria*: in orig. *Citrouilles*; perhaps the Créole *patole*, or snake-gourd (*Trichosantes anguina*).

among us which sometimes diverted us. The Cake we made was divided into four Parts, and we were to throw a Die which should have each Part, so that one must be excluded[1]; and who no doubt was not a little mortify'd to see the others eat, whilst he must fast.

In the Galleys, Dungeons, and such-like-miserable Places that are like to stick by a Man,[2] it is a common thing to reconcile one's self, in some Measure, to one's Misery, and amuse one's self one way or other. I have already told you, our Rock lay between two small Islands, which at low Water one might go to, but not without Difficulty. In one of these Islands, among other Trees, there were some *Plantane-Trees*, but the other was wholly unprovided of any. The Wood-Island was every Night the general Rendezvous of a great number of certain Sea-Birds,[3] which are about the bigness of a Pigeon, and not much unlike one. They lay their Eggs upon the Sand very near one another, and do not lay above one at a time; If you take away one, they match him with a new one, and so will do three times together. These Birds, which we call'd *Ferrets* because we fancy'd we heard them sound that word, have this in particular, that if you take away any of their young, the Cocks and Hens of the others

[1] In orig.: "en sorte que l'un des cinq fut exclus, & eut recours à quelque petite espèce de Philosophie d'Aprenti-Moine, pour voir manger les autres, sans en faire paroître du chagrin." *Apprenti-Moine*, a contemptuous term for a postulant, or novice, in a convent.

[2] In orig.: "dans les cachots mêmes, & dans les états les plus fâcheux de la vie qui tirent en longueur, on se fait une certaine habitude de sa misère."

[3] "Certain Sea-Birds." Sir Edward Newton thinks that these are probably some species of tern, perhaps *Sterna anæstheta*, which birds a few years ago bred on some of the small islets off the windward shore of Mauritius. (*Vide supra*, p. 81.) M. de la Caille speaks of a number of birds which flew round his ship, which he calls *Goilettes*. In a note appended to this remark, Baron Grant suggests, or "*Querets* (Gulls) *Larus*, *Brisson*." (Grant, *l. c.*, p. 371.) In the anonymous *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, certain *Equerets* are mentioned. (*Vide* Appendix B.)

will forsake theirs too. If you keep these young Birds alive, and expose them to the sight of the old ones, they will fly about them 'tis true, but never bring them anything; and altho' they hear them cry never so much for Hunger, they will give them nothing to eat.[1] The first time we went to that Island, we brought away three or four Dozen of these young Birds, with some old ones. As the former were very fat and look'd well, we roasted them, and found them to have somewhat of the tast of a *Snipe*, as they resembled that Bird in Colour; but they did us a great deal of harm, and we were never tempted to eat of them afterwards. The old ones have yet a more disagreeable Tast, and no doubt are more unwholsom. The next time we return'd to that Island, after we had taken away these young Birds I have been speaking of, we found all the rest of the young ones abandon'd by the old ones, and whereof great numbers were dead, and many dying for Hunger. If the Flesh of this Bird is so crude and pernicious, their Eggs make you sufficient amends, nothing being more wholsom and delicious. I counted that during our stay under this Confinement, we eat above twelve Thousand, and we were never incommoded in the least by them. These Eggs are spotted with Grey, and larger than those of Pigeons. It happens exactly, that the three months when these Birds lay their Eggs, the Deer are in their Rutting-time, so that tho' the Flesh of that Beast be unwholsom, and stinks abominably at that Season, which nevertheless was our ordinary Food,[2] we made our selves ample amends by these

[1] In orig.: "ils les laissent néanmoins périr sans aucun secours," omitted by translator.

[2] Venison as ordinary food in Mauritius. "Our venison," says Baron Grant in 1741, "which is fat, is very good, and serves us instead of beef; but it must be got from the forests, where the deer are very numerous: on account of the heat and their fat they are easily taken. It is, however, a circumstance to be lamented that, from the temperature of the air, fresh meat cannot be kept longer than two days." (*Op. cit.*, p. 195.)

Eggs, especially when our Fishing was not Prosperous, as we could not expect it should be always. Altho' these Eggs were many times ready to put forth their young, we toss'd them up in a *Fricassée*, and crunch'd them between our Teeth, as if they had been the best Dish in the World, though I know some squeamish and scrupulous People[1] would not have the same Opinion of it. This *Fricassée* made me to think of the famous *Guzman d'Alfarache*,[2] who complain'd that his Gutts came up to his Teeth when he crak'd the Still-born Chicken-Bones; yet this Remembrance did not at all disgust me, so true the Proverb is, which I think I have made use of before, that *Hunger is the best Sauce*,[3] especially where that which one eats is not bad, but thro' Opinion. There came also upon our Rock divers other Birds, which we call'd *Pluto's*,[4] because they were as black as Crows; they had almost the same size and form, only their Bills were longer, and hook'd at the end. Their Feet were like those of a Duck. These Birds remain six Months of the year at Sea, without being

[1] In orig.: "encore qu'un pareil ragoût fasse horreur à ceux dont la cuisine se gouverne par la mode; & qui aiment ou n'aiment pas les choses, selon le caprice de la coûtume & du préjugé."

[2] Guzman d'Alfarache, a character in a Spanish romance by Mateo Aleman: Le Sage is said to have borrowed the Life of Gil Blas from this prototype of a knave, stable boy, swindler, and merchant, 1599. In the catalogue of books, sold by the publishers of the English version of Leguat's Voyage, advertised at the end of the volume, appears "The Life of Guzman D'Alfarache: To which is added the celebrated Tragi-Comedy *Cælestina*, written in *Spanish* by *Mateo Aleman*, done into *English* from the new *French* version, and compar'd with the original by several hands. Adorn'd with Sculptures by *Gaspar Bouttats* in two Volumes in *octavo*."

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 13, "il n'est sauce que d'appétit" ("There's no sauce like a good stomach").

[4] *Fou* or *Fouquet; Pterodroma aterrima*, *Procellaria aterrima*, black petrel (Verreaux), would answer the description of the plutos, but it is only known in Réunion. The birds here mentioned, Sir Edward Newton says, are probably *Puffinus chlororynchus*, which bred on the Ile aux Fouquets, one of the little islets near the Isle de la Passe, a few years ago. (*Vide supra*, p. 81, *et* Appendix B.)

ever seen at Land; and the other six, those of the Neighbourhood come and drive them from our Rock where they lay their Eggs. Their cry is almost as loud as that of a Calf, and they always make the greatest noise at Night. A Days they are very quiet, and so exceeding tame, that you may take their Eggs from under them without their Stirring. They lay in the Holes of the Rocks, as far in as they can. These Birds are excessive fat, very ill tasted, extreamly nasty, and very unwholsom. Although their Eggs were not a whit better than their Flesh, we did not fail to feed on them when necessity requir'd. They are white, and as large as those of two of our Pullets. When you have taken their Eggs from them, they go out of their Holes and fall a fighting with one another, till they fetch Blood.

Going a walking one Night, we found a Sea-Tortoise[1] which came very *à propos*, because we at that time stood in great need of Refreshment. It was very large and afforded us near 150 Eggs. This was the only Creature of this kind we had seen all the while we had been there. In the place where we went to dart Fish, we found Shells[2] of an Oval Figure, and wonderfully speckled and streak'd like the Skin of a Tyger.[3] These Shells we made use of for Cups.

At length the too just Reasons we had to believe that tho' any Vessel should arrive, the Governor[4] would not suffer us to go on Board it, made us resolve anew to think on some

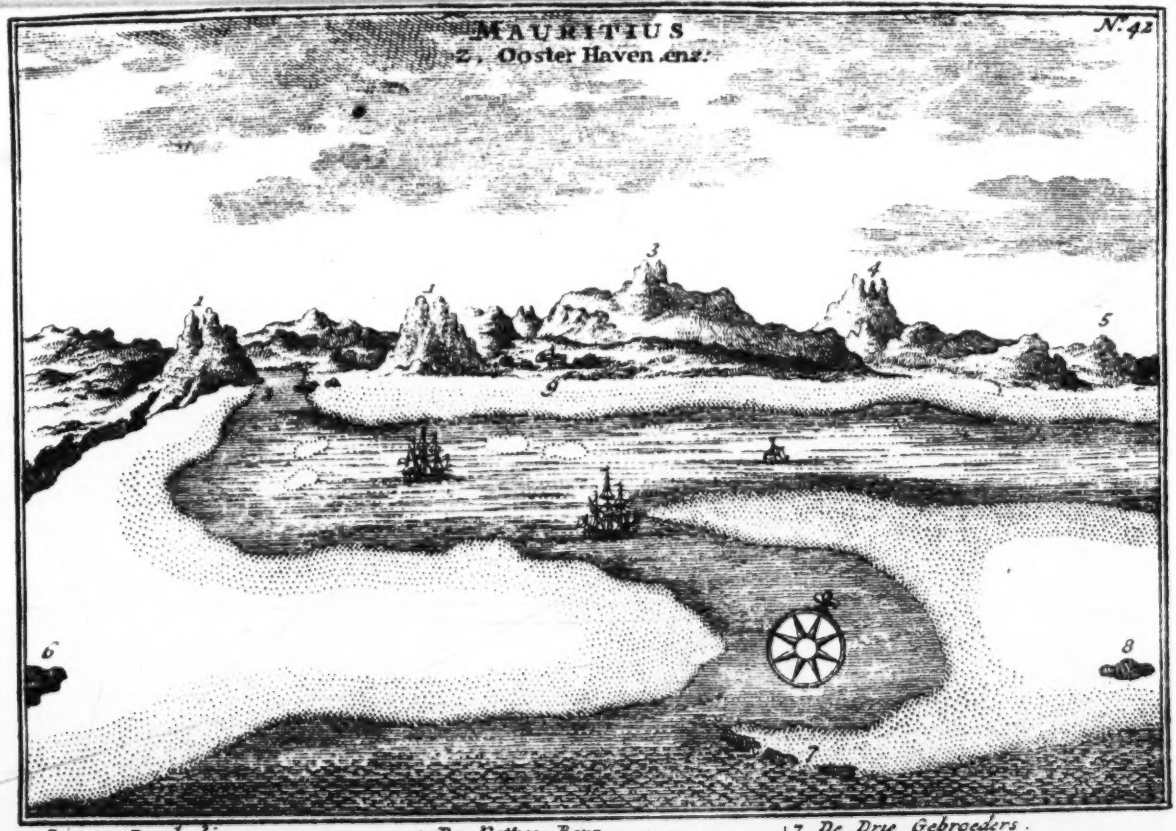
[1] Col. Pike observed a very fine turtle (*Testudo imbricata*), which he could have easily captured, at three hours' rowing from the Ile de la Passe. They formerly abounded on that coast, but are now rarely seen. (Vide *Subtropical Rambles*, p. 328.)

[2] In orig.: "des coquilles qu'on appelle de Venus."

[3] Perhaps *Tritons*. The striped varieties of the *Triton ruticulum* are very handsome when taken alive, especially the scarlet and yellow varieties (Pike, *op. cit.*, 265). Baron Grant mentions one of the "*Porcelaines*" (*Cypræa sp.*) as being spotted like a tiger. Situated as the island is in the midst of the Indian Ocean, its reefs have become the home of an infinite variety of molluscs.

[4] In orig.: "toujours inexorable," omitted by translator.

MAURITIUS
2. Ooster Haven enz.



1 Limoen-Bosch bergen.
2 Mond van de Limoën-Bosch Rievier.
3 De Zaal-Berg.
4 De Kathes Berg
5 De Derde Hoek of Kaal Kop.
6 t Visschers Eyland.
7 De Drie Gebroeders.
8 t Tabaks Eyland
9 t Fort Frederik Henrik.

means that might baffle his Malice. For this purpose we form'd a Design to build us a sort of Boat. Now having gain'd mightily upon our Purveyors, and divers Inhabitants of the Island, by sending them our Leaf-Hatts, we obtain'd from them in exchange several Deer-Skins, and Ox-Hides, under pretence that we wanted them to make Shooes of. They sent us likewise several Poles that we desir'd of them; and we by other Pretences got at different times a good quantity of Pitch from them. Having thus provided all that was necessary for our Design, we cover'd the Carcass of our Boat with Skins sew'd together; and upon Tryal, found it would do our business well enough; and to the end that our Purveyors might know nothing of the matter, we hid our new Skiff carefully in the hole of a Rock. Now it happen'd one Night that one of our Company being awake, and looking towards the Island, he discover'd a great Fire; he call'd to us, and we presently judg'd it was the Fort that was on fire. The Governors Appartment, the Magazine and Guard-House were of Stone; but the other Buildings, and even a little Chapel,[1] were compos'd of nothing but Branches and Leaves. We presently concluded, that if the Authors of this Fire, which we look'd upon as done out of Malice, were not soon known, the Governor would not fail to suspect us of it, or at least pretend so to do, that he might treat us after a more rigorous manner than he had hitherto done if that were possible. This made us think he would soon visit us, and if he should find the Boat we had just made, there would be no Mercy for us. To prevent this, we immediately pull'd that Machine to pieces, and so dispos'd of the Materials that 'twas impossible they should occasion the least Suspicion. A few days after Experience convinc'd us we were not in the wrong in our Conjectures, for our Purveyors acquainted us that we had been Suspected. They also related to us some

[1] In orig.: "le petit Temple."

Circumstances of this Fire,[1] which I shall beg leave to inform the Reader of. The Governor understanding a *Negro* Slave had committed a piece of Roguery in his Kitchin, he told him he would have him chastis'd. Now the way here to punish[2] these sort of People when they were found in any fault, was to bind them naked to a Ladder, and scourge them with a Rod made of Reeds, with knots at the end. When they had made their Bodies all bloody, they were to be rubb'd with Pepper and Vinegar. This unhappy *Negro* fearing this Punishment, fled soon after he had been thus threatened, and plotted with one of his Comrades and two *Negro* Women to set fire to the Fort; they executed their Purpose, but they were soon after taken and punish'd, as they well deserv'd. The Men were broken alive on the

[1] Subsequently, on the 15th November 1707, when Abraham Mommer van de Velde, the Onderkoopman, became Opperhoofd in the island, the whole of the Dutch East India Company's premises at Fort Frederik Hendrik were totally destroyed by fire, on which occasion the books, records, and goods in the magazines were burnt, and the whole establishment ruined. This event coming so soon after other severe losses, and as the small penal colony contributed nothing beyond a little ebony timber and ambergris to commerce, it was decided to abandon the place, and instructions were sent to this effect in February 1708, which were carried out in the following year. (See *History of S. Africa*, by Theal, vol. ii, p. 51.)

[2] The treatment of slaves in the colonies of all nationalities as late as 1821 was frightful. The floggings are represented as dreadful. The instrument was a rattan split so as to form a powerful cat of two or three tails. This instrument would lacerate the flesh like a knife, and weighed upwards of seven pounds. Females were flogged, and even children as well as men, and the lacerated flesh was afterwards rubbed with lime-juice, or salt and pepper.

Fugitive slaves were thus treated: for the first offence the slave's ears were cut off, and he was branded on one shoulder. For the second offence his hamstrings were cut and he was branded on the other shoulder. The third offence was capital. A slave who struck his master, mistress, or children was punished capitally. (See *Blue-Book*, July 1828, and *Asiatic Journal*, 1829, p. 282.)

Wheel,[1] and the two Women were hang'd. We have been so confidently assur'd of a singular Action relating to one of these unhappy Wretches, that I can't doubt the truth of it. He had, it seems, ever had an extreme Passion for Dice, so that when he came to the place of Execution, he requir'd with great earnestness, that some-one of the standers-by would oblige him so far, as to play a Game or two with him at Raffle, protesting that after that he should die with all manner of Satisfaction. If he had any design in this, no body was able to dive into it; however there was no stander-by that would oblige him in what he desir'd.

To speak Truth, the Governor had taken too much liberty upon this occasion, for by reason of the many unjust proceedings of his Predecessors, the *Company* had left them only a Power of accusing as well *Blacks* as *Whites*, as our Tyrant himself once confess'd, in relation to our accus'd Brethren; for one of them having petition'd him to be brought upon his Tryal, and not suffer'd to lie any longer in his Irons, he answer'd,[2] he had no power to try him, and that

[1] John Splinter Stavorinus, who was a rear-admiral in the naval service of the States-General, states that the punishments were very severe in the Dutch Colonies, especially with regard to Oriental slaves. In the year 1768 he saw, at the Cape, one, who had set a house on fire, broken alive upon the wheel, after the flesh had been torn from his body, in eight different places, with red-hot pincers, without his giving any sign of pain during the execution of this barbarous sentence, which lasted full a quarter of an hour. Impalement was also practised at the Cape, as well as at Batavia. Stavorinus gives some hideous details of the impalement which he saw practised on a Macassar slave at Batavia in 1769. (See *Voyages to the East Indies*, by Stavorinus, translated by S. H. Wilcocke, vol. i, pp. 288, 571.)

[2] In orig.: "naïvement," omitted by translator. Stavorinus says that the administration of justice at the Cape was confided to a separate Council, of which the second in command of the colony was president. In civil matters an appeal lay from their sentence to the Council of Justice at Batavia. In criminal affairs they were empowered both to pass sentence of death and to put it into immediate execution. Officers were appointed in the out stations of the colony (Mauritius was a dependency of the Cape) called *drosts* or

if he had had any, he should have been dispatch'd long ago. Since I am engag'd in these little Digressions, I must tell you, that 'twas all that the Governor and some of his Friends and Attendants could do, to save themselves in their Shirts. They ow'd the saving of their Lives to a Prisoner, who lying in Irons in the Guard Room perceiv'd the fire first; what was best in the Magazine was likewise sav'd.

Much about this time there came into the Road of the North-West Haven,[1] two *English* Ships,[2] but as that place was distant from our Rock above twelve Leagues, we had no knowledge of them till afterwards. Besides, the Governor forbid our Purveyors under severe Penalties to acquaint us with it, rightly judging, that if we knew it, we would use our utmost efforts to get to them.

We were told afterwards, that one of the Captains of those Ships understanding our Confinement, was going to send for us, as well because he pity'd our Condition, as that he wanted Men. His Boat was certainly hoisted out, and arm'd with several small pieces of Canon, in order to carry us off, but ill Weather interven'd, and hinder'd his charitable Purpose.

I now come to speak further of the design of the Sieur

sheriffs, who arrested criminals, but had no power of trying or judging them; it was necessary to send up criminals to the Council of Justice to be examined and punished. (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, p. 571.)

[1] Port Louis; *vide ante*, p. 146; also Appendix.

[2] "The English", writes le Sieur Luillier, in 1701, "send several ships yearly into India, the number of them not fix'd, and drive a considerable trade, yet much inferior to the Dutch, for they receive little more in return than the value of the plate they send over from Europe, the profit of the commerce from place to place in the country, going to defray the charges of their Officers, Forts and Factories; whereof if anything remains it makes up the lading of their ships. There is not so regular a method observ'd in the English as in the Dutch service, for every man returns when he pleases, and may stay in India as long as he wills; and I have observ'd they are not so zealous in the service." (Translation by Symson, *op. cit.*, p. 323.)

Testard had to endeavour to get a-shoar, come what would of it. This poor Man was one of the Persons accus'd: He perceiving that his Malady encreas'd, that the Governor would hearken neither to Prayers nor Promises, and that consequently there was no hopes of being speedily deliver'd, tho' any new Ship should arrive: This poor Man, I say, being no longer able to resist the violent Passion he had to breath a freer and better Air, and to go seek in the midst of Woods, Nourishment that was properer for his Health, than that he now had; he communicated to us his Project, and we conceived it both difficult and dangerous to put it in execution, look on it on which side we would. We endeavour'd to make him comprehend the ill consequences of it; we represented to him, that the Pass was above twelve[1] Leagues, that his Float could be made only of Weeds, since we had no more Barrels to put at the end of it, as we had done to that of the Gold-smith; that supposing he should have the good fortune to get to Land, it would be impossible for him to live in those Woods, because they were not such as here at Isle *Maurice*[2]; there were few *Tortoises* to be had, and no Birds that would suffer themselves to be taken by hand, no more than other Animals. We urged, moreover, that in a little while he would be without Cloaths, exposed to the inclemencies of the Air, and that after all, it was in a manner unavoidable but the Hunters must meet with him, who would assuredly resign him into the hands of his Enemy: We added, that when he should be found no longer among us, that evil Persecutor would, it may be, accuse us of having kill'd him in some Quarrel, and that therefore he ought to leave a Letter for him, and another for us, in some

[1] In orig.: "plus de deux lieües." The distance from Fouquets island to the nearest mainland is actually two miles and three-quarters.

[2] A misprint or bad translation; in original, the passage runs: "parce qu'il n'en étoit pas de même dans cette Ile comme à *Rodrigue*, où l'on trouvoit par tout de quoi se nourir; n'y ayant que très-peu de Tortues à *Maurice*."

corner of our Hut, that we might be able to defend our selves, when we were so accus'd. In a word, we forgot nothing that might disswade him from so unfortunate a Resolution, but all we could say, was to little purpose. He work'd alone at his Float, no body being willing to assist him in making an Instrument for his Destruction[1]: He made it of bundles of Weeds and Poles bound together, but which was done very ill, and it would not have been better if we had assisted him. He nevertheless resolv'd to make use of it, and told us at parting, that he would not fail to appear every Month upon one of the Mountains over against the Rock, where he would make a fire at the beginning of the Night, that should precede or follow the Full-Moon; that if we continu'd in the same place, we should answer him by a like Signal, or otherwise he should take such neglect for a Token that we were a-shoar, and consequently would meet us soon after at a place agreed upon; but withal, assur'd us, that so soon as ever he could spy any Vessel in what part of the Isle soever, he would certainly get on board her if possible.[2] The set time for his Departure being come, he fasten'd his Float by a stake near our Hut, and came to take his leave of us; but whilst he was longer than ordinary in acquainting us with

[1] "From neighbouring woods he interlaced
His sorry skiff with wattled willows;
And thus equipped he would have pass'd
The foaming billows.

"But Frenchmen caught him on the beach,
His little Argo sorely jeering;
Till tidings of him chanced to reach
Napoleon's hearing.

"Rash man, that wouldst yon channel pass
On twigs and staves so rudely fashioned,
Thy heart with some fair English lass
Must be impassioned."

(T. Campbell, *Napoleon and the Sailor.*)

[2] In orig.: "Secrettement," omitted by translator.

his Design, a Sea[1] came and washed away his Float, which afflicted him exceedingly. For our parts we were no less joyful at it, especially when we saw it was carry'd by the Current towards the main Sea, and far enough off from the Island. If this accident had not happen'd, we might quickly have seen our friend perish, without being able in the least to have help'd him. One would have thought this happy Misfortune might have made him more wise, and inclined him to forego his Resolution, but he continued obstinate for all that, and would not hearken to the Reasons we gave, that what had happen'd cou'd never be by chance, but that Providence must needs have a hand in it, and that he ought to acquiess with Patience in what had been done, and resolve with us to endure Submissively, whatever God was pleas'd to impose further upon us. Now as nothing of all this had the desir'd effect upon him, in that he protested he would make another Float to execute his former Design, I thought myself oblig'd in Conscience to tell him, I would do all I could to hinder him; that we must treat him like a Mad-man, if he would throw himself away after that rate, and that even tho' I should be alone, I would do the best I could to prevent his Ruin. He said no more to me, and seemed to acquiess in what I desir'd, imagining doubtless, that we were resolv'd to make our selves Masters of him, but secretly he still meditated the same Design. Perceiving it was impossible for him to make another Float without our Knowledge, he resolv'd to build a small Boat with the Beast-skins, that we should know nothing of. As he was one that assisted in making ours, and knew we laid the things[2] under our Mattresses, he stole some away privately, and carry'd them to a Grot in the Rock, where he wrought on the Boat at spare hours. He finish'd this Machine in a short time and

[1] In orig.: "il arriva que la mer qui montoit enleva sa fragile barque."

[2] In orig.: "des peaux de cerf."

departed on Sunday Morning, the 10th of *January* 1696,[1] without saying a word to any Body. Next Morning calling him to our usual exercise of Prayer, we were surpris'd to find him gone: You may guess at our Concern. We went immediately and search'd among his Goods for Letters, not doubting but if he was really gone, he would leave some according to Promise. We found two; in that directed for us, he gave us a long account of his Intentions, assuring us if God was pleas'd to let him get safe to Land, he would break his little Boat to pieces, sink the Skins in the Sea under a heap of Stones and dispose so of other matters, that it should be impossible to find out that we assisted him in his escape.[2] The other Letter was for the Governor: It contain'd in Substance, that it was he that forc'd him to take that melancholy Resolution, by his cruel and obstinate refusal to suffer him to go a-shoar for recovery of his Health; that he was now going into the Woods with the same design, and that he did not remove himself from Justice, since he would not fail to surrender himself in his hands, as soon as any Ship should arrive in the Port. He carry'd along with him only a little Skillet,[3] a Burning-glass to light fire, a Prayer-Book, and some few Cloaths.

Since this fatal Departure, we had never had the latest News of him, whatever enquiries we made after him. We perceiv'd none of the Signals he promised to give us, and all our searches after him were vain.

According to all probability this poor Man perish'd in his Passage, or died miserably in the midst of the Woods, soon after his arrival in the Island. A report indeed came to our Ears, that the carcass of his Boat was found beaten to pieces

[1] In orig.: "la nuit du Samedi au Dimanche."

[2] In orig.: "qu'on ne pourroit jamais découvrir comment il auroit échapé du Rocher, ni nous soupçonner d'avoir eû part à son évasion." "We have the originals of these two letters in our possession" (*note in orig.*).

[3] In orig.: "un petit poilon," *i.e.*, poélon, a saucepan.

after the manner he promis'd in his Letter, but this was never confirm'd; and about two years after, when we were at the Cape of *Good Hope*, a Vessel that came from Isle *Maurice*, assur'd us, there was never anything heard of him. See how our unfortunate Company was reduc'd to four persons, thro' the Tyranny of this hard-hearted Governor. After he came to understand the Escape of the Sieur *Testard*, both by our Purveyor, and the Letter we sent him, he became never the better, and did not alter a whit of his Severity towards us that remain'd. On the contrary, he caus'd Irons to be put on the Legs of the Sieur *La Haye*, altho' he had never accus'd him of any thing, and tho' he was exceeding sick thro' the hardships he underwent.[1]

Now as the Sieur *La Case* perceiv'd that his Malady began to augment upon him, and that he must speedily take to his Bed, he resolv'd whilst he was able, to imitate the Sieur *Testard* in his Enterprize, and go into the Woods in search of Health as he had done. He communicated his design to us, and beg'd of us not to oppose him, since it would be but in vain, adding, that if we would not consent, he would venture to swim over in the Night, rather than undergo any longer that miserable Confinement. We perceiving that he was fully bent on what he said, and that our refusal to comply with him might carry him to some desperate Action,[2] consented to what he desir'd, and help'd him to make a Float of Weeds and Boughs; and we even repented of not having done the like for the poor Sieur *Testard*. We moreover set up a Mat made of Plantane-Leaves[3] on his Float, to serve him for a Sail. He waited for a Night when both the Wind

[1] In orig.: "& il traita les autres comme à l'ordinaire," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "plûtôt desesperée que téméraire."

[3] In orig.: "une natte de toile de Latanier." Perhaps the matting manufactured from palm-fibre called "*rabannes*" in Mauritius; or the *vacoa* mats from which at the present day bags are made for outer packing of the sugar in gunny-bags.

and Sea were high, and stipulated with us the same Conditions the Sieur *Testard* had done. The Wind, which was very violent, over-set the Machine twice, but the Sieur *La Case* who was a good Swimmer, easily got up upon it again, and gain'd the Land in a short time, the favour of the Wind having preserved him from the fury of the Current. As soon as he was got a-shoar he made a fire, and we understood the Signal: He retir'd afterwards into the thickest Woods, and there pass'd the remainder of the Night. Next Morning as he has twice inform'd us, he rambled about all day without knowing whither he went, and that without finding aught either to eat or drink. It was the same thing for eight days following, so that if he had not taken some Provisions along with him, he must inevitably have perish'd with Hunger and Fatigue; and moreover his Malady still augmented upon him. The eighth day he caught an Eel, which he greedily devour'd raw: The ninth he found a Path which led him to the House of an Inhabitant of the Island, who instead of relieving him, deliver'd him up to Soldiers, who carry'd him to the Fort.

The Governor apprehending least we should all escape one after another, and those who brought us Provisions confirming the same thing,[1] he was at length constrain'd by these Reasons, and some others, to let us come all ashoar. But to the end that this enlargement might not occasion us too excessive Joy, he had the charity to temper it by taking from us about 200 pounds of Rice that had been left us, and which we had hitherto so carefully manag'd. This was about that time when Potatoes are good for nothing, and then the Soldiers were oblig'd to buy Rice of the Governor at their own Charges.[2] He gave them to understand that

[1] In orig.: "& les gens qui nous apportoient nos provisions se plaignant sans cesse de la peine que cela leur donnoit."

[2] "The Company pay a fixed price for every article. That of the rice is ten rix-dollars, or twenty-four gilders, for every *coyang* of 3,400

Het fort Fredrik Hendrik op Mauritius

what Rice he had sav'd from the Fire was his own, and that belonging to the *Company* had been for some time exhausted. For our parts we could neither buy that, nor any thing else, having no Money, the Governor having taken care to rob us of it.

As I had left some Memoirs at *Rodrigo*, I likewise conceal'd some in a Hole of our Rock, (which I for a double Reason call the Rock of *Zochelet*,[1] 1 *Kings* i. 9) to which I added, an Abridgment of the History of our long and cruel Confinement in this melancholy and barren Place. I did not forget to observe in this short Relation, that a fatal piece of unknown Gum for a long while despis'd, had been the cause of our Tyrannical Persecution, and the deplorable Death of one of our dear Companions. So true it is what St. *Paul* says, that *Covetousness is the root of all Evil*,[2] and that those who have a mind to become Rich, fall into diabolical Snares, and many pernicious Desires, which at length precipitate them into the Abyss of Perdition.

pounds weight (equal to about 1*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.); but when the harvest fails they sometimes pay five rix-dollars more; or when the wants are very large, as in the year 1773, when the scarcity of this grain at *Batavia*, occasioned by a certain occurrence respecting the first administrator in the grain-magazine, was very great; or when several succeeding harvests have failed, orders are then given to the residents to buy the rice immediately from the natives, and the *coyang* then stands them in fifty rix-dollars." (Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 139.)

The administrators of the grain-magazines at the stations of the East India Company were allowed particular emoluments, and were to content themselves with respect to rice with one hundred pounds allowed upon each last, by resolution of 16th October 1744. (*Vide* Stavorinus, *l. c.*, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 486.)

[1] "And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of *Zoheleth*,* which is by En-rogel." (1 Kings, i, 9.)

[2] "For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." (1 Tim. vi, 10.)

* *I.e.*, by the *Stone of the Serpent.*

As soon as the good News of our Deliverance came to our Ears, and that of our Departure from Isle *Maurice* for *Batavia*, I was not a little over-joy'd, for however Industrious I was to seek for Diversion, and even to appear Gay to encourage those poor young Men with whom I was; I must own, my Mind was not less indispos'd than my Body: Besides, I can't dissemble that I was exceedingly set against that inveterate and implacable Persecutor, but still had a greater Contempt for him, than Hatred. I could not endure that he should bear the fair name of *Diodati*, or said to be a Child of *Geneva*.[1] But others affirm he was born at *Dort*. If any *Mahometan* of *Algiers* had us'd me yet worse, I could have born it patiently from him.

In this extream Joy that affected me, my Soul lifted it self up towards its Deliverer, and I pen'd a Song of Thanksgiving and Benediction, which I compos'd of divers passages of Scripture so happily link'd together, that I may say, they perfectly express'd our different Conditions. I busied my self a whole day about this comfortable Collection, and as it was nothing but the word of God, I thought it must needs be agreeable to this Relation of my Adventures. But I observe some People at a distance, that assume a ridiculing Air upon this occasion; methinks I hear them say, we have a great deal to do indeed with your *Canticle*. Formerly they were accounted Fools, that denied the Being of a God, but now forsooth, they must pass for Wits: Well Gentlemen,[2] you shall not have my *Canticle*, you are unworthy of it. Holy Things are not your Inclination[3] I find, and these Pearls shall not be thrown away upon you: I'll keep them for good Men, for you wise and honest Reader, who are not to be carry'd away by the Torrent of Prejudice,[4] therefore look

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 145.
[2] In orig.: "Messieurs les Beaux-Esprits," omitted by translator.
[3] In orig.: "les choses saintes ne sont pas pour les Chiens."
[4] In orig.: "perversité."

at the end of my Relation, and you'll find the *Canticle* I speak of.[1]

The 6th of *September* 1696 the Vessel call'd *Suraag* arriv'd, and brought Orders to carry us away. Our good and generous Friends, the Officers of the *Perseverance*, of whom I have already spoken, were so kind as to present our Letters and Petition to the Directors-General[2] in *Holland*, so that when the Governor found he could detain us no longer, he thought fit to let us know what had happen'd. He told us of it first himself, and bid us prepare to embark. We expected that according to Custom, when a Ship arrives, an Assembly[3]

[1] *Vide infra.*

[2] Directors-General. "The administration of the Dutch East India Company is, in Holland, divided between six boards, or *chambers*, having session at different places, *viz.*, one at *Amsterdam*, which being the most considerable, is called the presidial chamber; this is composed of twenty-four directors, of whom eighteen are chosen by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, four by the cities of *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Gouda*, and the two others by the provinces of *Gelderland* and *Friseland*; besides these, there are four of the chief proprietors, who in certain cases have session with the directors: the chamber of *Middleburgh* is the second in rank; it has thirteen directors, twelve chosen by the cities of *Zealand*, and the thirteenth by the province of Gelderland .... next the chamber of *Delft* .... the chamber of *Rotterdam* .... that of *Harn* ..... the chamber of *Enkhuisen*. .... The places where these chambers assemble being all seaports, a certain number of ships is dispatched from each. .... But the supreme and general direction of all the affairs of the Company is vested in what is called the Assembly of Seventeen, which consists of seventeen directors deputed, eight from the chamber of *Amsterdam*, four from that of *Middleburgh*, one from each of the others, and one alternately by each of these four last. This assembly meets three times a year, and is held for six following years at *Amsterdam*, and the two ensuing years at *Middleburgh*. .... There is likewise a council of the directors, which meets from time to time at the *Hague*; .... being the medium through which the Company communicates with the States-General." (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 89-91.)

[3] Mauritius had been abandoned when Stavorinus visited the Dutch colonies, but his account of the government of an out-station (Amboyna) sufficiently indicates the procedure of the law:—"The council of justice consists of the second, as president, and six members, who generally assemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the stadhouse

should be held, where every one might make their Complaint at liberty; but he found means to prevent that, and we were sent on board without any Bodies speaking to us, and without having any part of our Effects restor'd. This occasion'd us to present a Petition to the Officers of the Vessel, informing them of the ill Treatment we had had from our Persecutor, who yet continu'd to exercise towards us the same Tyranny and Injustice. This made him come a-board, where having seen our Petition, he call'd one of us cursed Dog,[1] and ask'd him why he presented such sort of

or town hall. All civil and criminal causes are decided here, but in the former an appeal can be made to the Council of Justice at *Batavia*. . . . Although by an express command of the supreme government, the government here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the Council of Justice, further than to approve or suspend their sentences in criminal cases, yet some of them arrogate to themselves so much power in this respect that in the same manner as in the council of polity they force a conformation to their will, or bid open defiance to justice and honesty, if the members of the Council refuse to abet their iniquity." Stavorinus then adduces an instance of rank abuse of authority remaining unnoticed and unpunished. It may be added here that Roelof Diodati does not appear to have been reprimanded even for his conduct towards Leguat and the French refugees, being subsequently promoted to Japan; but in some respects he suffered a kind of retributive justice in Mauritius, for, before leaving that island, in 1701, a piratical ship, the *Amy*, was wrec kedclose by the fort, when 200 armed buccaneers got to shore, forcing the colonists to take refuge in the fort, and Diodati, in order to get rid of them, sold them the Company's packet at half-price. (See Stavorinus, *l. c.*, ii, p. 384; Theal, *S. Africa*, *l. c.*, p. 51.)

[1] In orig.: "qu'il traita de maudit coquin." "An Englishman", writes Admiral Stavorinus, "would never brook the insupportable arrogance with which the Dutch East India Company's servants are treated by their superiors, as well at Batavia as at the out-factories. It would be well if this conduct remained solely confined to the Asiatic regions, which gave birth to it: but, unfortunately, we see it continued by purse-proud individuals when they return to a country where, from the most ancient times, it is known to be in perfect contradiction to the genius and temper of the inhabitants. It is certain that this is one reason why there are so few to be met with who serve the Company with fidelity or a sense of honour. Everyone

Petitions against him. We thinking ourselves in a manner out of his Clutches, answer'd boldly, That he might be sure that it was not to boast any ways of his kindness to us, but to acquaint[1] these Gentlemen, who were at length come to our Assistance, with his barbarous usage of us, even to the last Moment, and that they might testifie this Complaint was made even at Isle *Maurice*. After some injurious Expressions he reassum'd a ridiculing Air, and told us, if we thought our selves aggriev'd, we might seek for Justice at *Batavia* from the General and his Council, and we answer'd that that was our Resolution. After Dinner[2] he had us call'd again, when he told us, in the presence of the Council of the Vessel,[3] that he had at first given Orders we should be receiv'd on board as Passengers, without being oblig'd to do any thing; but since we had presented that fine Petition, we should work as the Soldiers did, before we eat.[4] As for Monsieur *de la Case's* part, added he, he must be contented to lie in Irons during the whole Voyage, and so you shall have a new subject of Complaint when you come to *Batavia*.

attends solely to the main business of well and speedily lining his purse, and all look to the time when they shall be able to withdraw themselves from the insolent dominion of an arbitrary government, against which little or nothing can be said or done." (*Op. cit.*, i, 146.)

[1] In orig.: "en sa propre présence," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "L'après midi."

[3] "If a copeman (*koopman* or factor) or under-copeman goes from port to port in any ship he has the command of her, and also of the fleet, or all ships in company, by the Company's settled order in their articles. When there is a fleet together under the command of a commandore, the council is to consist of copemen and skippers. When a ship is single the council is to be of copeman, skipper, under-copeman, book-keeper, and steersman. . . . . All chiefs of factories have free power to dispose of their ships and men while they are under their chiefship, and as occasion requires in the Company's service. They may take out men, ammunition, provisions, and stores, though such ships come there casually through accident or necessity." (*Universal History, Modern*, vol. ix, p. 132.)

[4] In orig.: "& seulement pour nôtre nourriture."

Before we leave Isle *Maurice*, I will relate to you some things that I have observ'd there, and what I have heard concerning it. 'Tis well known that this Island[1] is situated in the 12th Degree of Southern Latitude[2]: It is almost round, and its Circumference is about fifty Leagues. I have read some where, that it was the *Portugueses* that discover'd it: They call'd it *Cerne*[3]; but when the *Hollanders* made themselves masters of it in the 20th of *September* 1598, they gave it the name of Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, then Governor of the *United Provinces*.

You may Anchor in three principal Places; at the Fort, the Black River, and the North-West Haven.

The Company maintains at the Fort, a Garrison of about fifty Men; and there are thirty or forty *Dutch* Families dispers'd throughout the Island.

After the fire had destroy'd great part of the Fort, as we have already acquainted you it did, it was rebuilt with Stone.[4]

[1] The well-known island of Mauritius is situated in lat. S. 20° 8′, long. E. 57° 29′. It is about thirty-nine miles long by thirty-five miles wide, and over one hundred miles in circumference, whilst its area measures about seven hundred square miles, being a little smaller than the county of Surrey. It is at a distance of nearly five hundred miles from the east coast of Madagascar, and ninety-five miles from the lofty island of Réunion. (*Vide supra*, p. 156.) The northern part of the island is a low plain, covered with sugar plantations. In the centre is an elevated plateau rising to some 1,500 ft., the rocks being almost entirely volcanic. Around this plateau rise the principal mountain ranges, the remains of denuded crater-cliffs and *cirques* of an extinct volcano. Their peaks and summits attain heights varying from 1,900 ft. to 2,700 ft.

[2] In orig.: "sous le 21^{me} degré." These continual mistakes show great carelessness on the part of the translator, as regards figures.

[3] *Vide ante*, p. 157, and Appendix.

[4] M. l'Abbé de la Caille, who surveyed the island in 1753, writes: "This island has two very fine harbours. The least of them, which is called Port Louis, is situate towards the middle of the western coast, and there is the principal establishment of the East India Company. Ships must be towed into it, but they may sail out of it with the wind right aft. The other harbour, which is called Grand Port, or Port Bour-

They then mounted there, if I well remember, twenty good pieces of cast Canon.

The Soil of this Island[1] is almost every where reddish, and generally good, but about the Fort it is worth little or nothing.

The Road for Shipping, over against it, is dangerous and difficult to get out of, altho' there are two Outlets, because they necessarily require a certain Land-Wind, which comes but seldom, and profound Calms are frequent in these parts. The two other Roads are good enough.

There are in this Island great numbers of Ebony-Trees,[2]

bon, is situate towards the middle of the eastern coast of the island, and is very capacious and secure. Ships may enter it with a leading wind; but the departure from it is difficult, on account of the prevalence of the south-easterly winds, which blow directly into the principal of the two channels which form its openings. Here it was that the Dutch established their settlement, and built a fort, which they named Frederick Henry. Its foundations and a part of the walls remained in 1753, but they have since been entirely removed in order to erect a very handsome building for the reception of the commandant of the port and the garrison, as well as to contain the necessary magazines. (Grant, *l. c.*, p. 377. Cf. *St. Pierre*, p. 54.)

[1] Bernardin de St. Pierre remarks: "Everything here (in the île de France*) differs from what is seen in Europe, even the herbage of the country. To begin with the soil: it is almost everywhere of a reddish colour, and mixed with veins of iron, which are frequently found near the surface, in the form of grains, the size of a pea." (*l. c.*, p. 57.)

[2] "The *Ebony-wood;* its leaves are large, the lower side white, the upper of a dingy green. The centre only of this tree is black, the sap and the bark being white. In a trunk from which may be cut a log six inches square there is frequently no more of real black ebony than two inches square. This wood, if worked while green, smells like human excrement, and its flowers like the July-flower; the very reverse of the cinnamon, whose flowers are stinking, and the wood and

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* Leguat does not seem to have recognised the volcanic character of the rocks at Mauritius. On the road to Flacq, Leguat and his comrades would have passed from North-West Port by *Terre Rouge* river under Montagne Longue; and the red dust on the track to Pamplemousses doubtless attracted their attention.

white and black: The black is hardest. The Soldiers who are employ'd to saw this Wood, will saw twenty foot of White[1] before they can twelve of Black, and which is their ordinary Task for a day.

Here are Oranges[2] both sweet and sour,[3] and great plenty of Citrons of the same kind. Also divers of Trees fit for Shipping.[4] A good quarter of a League from the Fort, there is a Grove of Limon-Trees,[5] round which, as well as in

bark of a pleasant smell. The ebony bears a fruit like a medlar, full of viscous juice, that is sweet and pleasant-tasted. There is another sort of Ebony here, veined with black." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 63.) Ebony-trees. To the *Ebenaceæ* belong *Plaqueminier mellanide* or *Ébène blanc* (*Diospyros melanida*); *Ébène noir* (*D. tessellaria.*) (*Pridham*, p. 368.)

[1] In orig.: "rouge."

[2] Oranges. *Citrus aurantium*, *C. Bigaradie*, *C. Bergamia*, *C. decumana*. Lemons and Citrons. *Citrus acida*, *C. Limonum*, *C. medica*, *C. Limetta*. Malagasy Orange, *Citrus Vangassaye*.

"The Citron-tree bears fruit in cool and damp places only; the citrons are small but full of juice.

"The Orange-tree also thrives in a soil of this kind; its fruit is larger, and sharp-tasted. Many of them grow in the neighbourhood of the Great Port (South-East Port); yet I doubt if these two species are natural to the island. The sweet orange is very rare, even in gardens. Orange-trees are of many sorts; among them is one yielding an orange called a *Mandarin*; a large kind of Pamplemousse, of a red colour and but middling taste; a citron that bears a very large fruit, but with little juice in it (the shaddock of the W. Indies)." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 63.)

[3] In orig.: "aussi doux & aigres."

[4] In orig.: "pour la charpente."

[5] In van Braam's map is shown *de Groote Limoen Booms Rivier*, possibly the stream which flows into Bestel's Cove, indicating the Grove of Oranges and Lemons mentioned by Leguat. "There are also a great many sweet and sour lemon (*citroen-boomen*) and orange trees, planted in 1606 by Heer *Matelief* van Keernan, who brought them from the island of Annabon. And close by the Fort one overlooks a great wood, and near it a large plantation of tobacco and sugar-cane. There are here very fine pine-apples, pisang (plantain?), and other Indian fruits. The Calappus (*filao* or *casuarina*) and other trees grow well here. By the end of our occupancy there was also a Company's garden with all sorts of European (*Vaderlandze*) fruits; but rice does not thrive well here"

many other places of this Island, they plant Tobacco,[1] which is excessive strong: They plant likewise great numbers of Sugar-Canes.[2] The Spirit they draw from them, and which is here call'd *Araque*, is strong and unwholsom while it is new. I would say nothing of the *Ananas*, the *Bananes*, beautiful and excellent Fruit, which they have here in great abundance, because all Relations speak of them, were it not that there are divers sorts of them. The *Ananas*[3] of Isle *Maurice* comes out of the Ground like an Artichoke, and multiplies like it: Its Seed is in the Tuft that crowns the Fruit. This Plant bears but one of these Fruit, which is commonly about the bigness of a midling Melon, shap'd pretty much like a Pine-Apple,[4] and dazling the Eye on all sides with lively and beautiful Colours. It has a sort of Crown a top consisting of small Leaves, and one can never be tir'd with looking on it, no more than with admiring its sweet and exquisite Sapour; but as it is extreamly cold, it must be eaten with great Moderation. Its large and thick Leaf is arm'd on the sides with prickles, and resembles

(Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 152). It is suggested that Valentyn may have seen Leguat and derived some information from him personally, as he had not visited Mauritius.

[1] "The tobacco is not good. None is planted but by the negroes for their own use." (St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 112. *Vide ante*, p. 147.)

[2] "The sugar-cane ripens here in perfection; the inhabitants make an indifferent sort of liquor, which they call *flangourin*. There is but one sugar-house in the whole island." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 120.) This one sugar-house is mentioned by Baron Grant in 1753. He says: "MM. Vigoureux of St. Malo have established an handsome sugar-work; but it is so ill-conducted, that the sugar has the appearance of Norman honey: it costs two sous the pound, and is quite disgusting; but we entertain the hope that the manufacture will improve. This sugar is employed to cover houses in the Italian manner, and, being incorporated with chalk, forms a kind of mastic; and being spread on fine planks, becomes hard as pavement. The Indians alone know how to make this composition." (*Op. cit.*, p. 370.)

[3] *Ananas*, or pineapple, *Bromelia ananas*.

[4] In orig.: "pomme de pin," *i. e.*, a pine or fir cone.

somewhat that of Aloes.[1] The description we have of the *Ananas* of *Brasile*, differs something from this. They have little Leaves that come out on all sides between the grains of the Fruit.

The *Banane* Plant[2] is large and fine, it rises about ten or twelve foot out of the Ground, and has very large Leaves of an Oval Figure. It bears a Fruit as long as one's Hand, and of the bigness of the fist of a Child of four years old. It is outwardly yellow when 'tis ripe, white within, a little clammy like the inside of an Apricock, and of a delicate and excellent Flavour.

There are also to be found in this Island, Coco's,[3]

[1] In orig.: "de l'Alöé," presumably the ἀλοη of Dioscorides and Pliny; the bitter aloe of Africa. Leguat's editor bases his description of this fruit on the fuller details given by M. de Rochefort in his *History of the Antilles* (*l. c.*, p. 248), of the *Bromelia fastuosa*, whose leaf is likened by that writer to the "*Aloes*", meaning perhaps the agave of America.

[2] The Banana or Plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*, var.

"The *Banana-tree* grows everywhere. It has no wood or stock, being only a tuft of flowers, which springs up in columns, and blows at the top in large and long leaves, of a beautiful satinny green. At the end of a year there issues from the summit a long stem, all hung with fruit, in the form of a cucumber; two of these stems are a load for a black; the fruit, which is mealy, is also very pleasant and nutritive. The blacks are very fond of it, and it is given to them on the 1st of January as a New-Year's gift; they count their years of sorrow by the number of banana-feasts they have regaled at. Linen cloth might be made from the thread of the banana-tree. The shape of the leaves like belts of silk, the length of its stem, the upper part of which hangs down from the height of a man, and whose violet colour at the end gives it the look of a serpent's head, may have occasioned its being called by the name of Adam's fig-tree. This fruit lasts all the year; there are many sorts of it, from the size of a plum to the length of a man's arm." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 123.)

[3] *Cocos nucifera.* "The Coco-tree is planted here; 'tis a kind of palm, which thrives in the sand; this is one of the most useful trees in the Indian trade, though it affords nothing else than a bad sort of oil and cables as bad in their kind. It is reckoned at Pondicherry that each coco-tree is worth a pistole a year. Travellers speak much in praise of its

Palm-Trees,[1] Plantane-Trees,[2] and divers sorts of Fruit-Trees.[3]

fruit; but our flax will ever be preferred to its cotton for making cloth, our wines to its liquor, and our filberds to its nut." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 125.)

[1] *Dictyosperma alba*, *Acanthophœnix rubra*, *Hyophorbe indica*, *Acanthophœnix crinita*. *Hyophorbe amaricaulis*, is indigenous on Round Island. (*Baker* and *Balfour*.)

"There are still some other trees, which, though curious, are of little or no use, as the *Date*, which seldom bears fruit; the Palm, which is called here the *Araque* (Areca); and that which produces sago. The *Vacoa* is a kind of small palm-tree, whose leaves grow spirally round the trunk; they make mats and bags of them. [This is the *pandanus*, not a palm.] The *Palm-tree* rises in the forest above all the other trees; it bears at the heart a cluster of palms, whence there issues a shoot, which is all this tree affords fit to be eaten; and to get at this the tree must be cut down. This shoot, which they call the cabbage, is formed of young leaves rolled one over the other, very tender, and of a very pleasant taste." (*St. Pierre*, p. 63.)

[2] *Latania Commersonii*, *L. Loddigesii*. "The *Latanier* is a large kind of palm-tree: it bears at the top one leaf only, in the shape of a fan, with which they cover their houses. (*Ibid.*, p. 63.)

[3] "Fruit-trees." Between 1750 and 1770, M. Poivre introduced into the Isle of France the spice-trees of the Malaysian Archipelago and many exotic and economical fruits and plants, some of which, by the time Bernardin St. Pierre visited the island, had become thoroughly naturalised and established. The latter says: "I have seen here cherry, apricot, medlar, apple, pear, olive, and mulberry-trees; but without fruit, though some of them had flowers. The fig-tree produces a tolerable fruit. The vine does not succeed upon props, but, when in arbours, bears grapes, which, like those in the gardens of Alcinous, ripen one part after another; a good vintage, therefore, cannot be expected. The peach-tree gives fruit enough, and well-tasted; but they are never luscious. There is a white louse which destroys them. . . ." "The fruit-trees are the *Attier*, whose triangular flower, of a solid substance, tastes like the *pistachio*; its fruit is like a pineapple; when it is ripe, it is full of a white and sweetish cream, which smells like the orange-flower; it is full of black kernels. (This is the custard-apple.) The *Atte* is very pleasant, but, being very heating, soon cloys and gives a pain in the stomach to those who eat it (*Anona squamosa*).

"The *Mango* is a very beautiful tree. It is covered with superb

There is a sort of Shrub call'd *Stront-boom*[1] or T-Tree, which is extreamly Venomous. The middle of its Trunk is

girandoles of flowers like the Indian chestnut. To these succeed a great number of fruits, shaped like a large flat plum, covered with a rind, which smells like turpentine. This fruit has a vinous and agreeable taste; and, but for its smell, might vie with the best fruits of Europe. It is never prejudicial to those who eat it, and I should think a wholesome and pleasant drink might be made from it. This tree has one inconvenience attending it, being covered with fruit at the time of the hurricanes, which strip it of the greater part."

M. St. Pierre also mentions the Guava (*Psidium* sp.), of which there are three species in the island—the Jamrosa (which includes three species of *Jambosa*; the Papaye (*Carica Papaya*); the Badamier (*Terminalia Catappa*); the Avoca, or alligator-pear (*Persea gratissima*); the Jack (*Artocarpus integrefolia*); the Tamarind; the Cashew-nut (*Anacardium* sp.); the Cinnamon; and *one* Cacao (*Theobroma cacao*).

The Ravinsara (*Agathophyllum aromaticum*) was introduced by M. Poivre, as were also the Mangosteen and the Litchi, the clove, nutmeg, and other valuable spice-trees.

[1] The *Strontboom* of Leguat, or *Mapou* of St. Pierre, is somewhat difficult to identify. Baron Grant (p. 37) writes: "A large and very uncommon tree is found among the rocks, whose substance is as soft as the flesh of a turnip. It is called Mapou, or stinking wood, from its offensive odour, and is considered unwholesome. M. Bernardin de St. Pierre, writing from The Port, October 8th, 1768, states: "Some days ago I perceived a large tree in the middle of some rocks, and, being desirous of cutting a piece with my knife, was surprised at the whole blade entering without my using the least force. It was of a substance like a turnip, and of a very disagreeable taste; for some hours after (although I did not swallow any part of it) my throat was much inflamed, and felt as if pricked by pins. This tree is called *Mapou*, and is looked upon as poisonous." Mr. Baker says: "*Mapou*, in Mauritius, is *Vitis Mappia*, a harmless vine. *Bois mapou*, more than one species of *Pisonia*, also harmless; purgative, perhaps, but not actively poisonous." He adds: "I should think the poisonous tree would most likely be a *Stillingia* (*Euphorbiaceæ*), or something of that kind. . . . ." "There is a *Stillingia Fanguina* in Mauritius, which I infer, from the name, is poisonous. That sort of plants have an acrid milky juice, and the Seychelles ally is superstitiously dreaded by the native, called *Bois Jasmin*. The *Mapou* of the Plaine des Caffres, in Bourbon, is stated by Maillard to be *Monimia rotundifolia*. *Monimia rotundifolia* of Mauritius, in the herbarium at Kew, is labelled, says

larger than either its bottom or top. Its Wood is flabby, and its Leaves would nearly resemble those of our Willows, were it not that they are a little larger. I have neither observ'd Flowers nor Fruit upon it: Both the Wood and the Rind are a speedy and deadly Poyson, and which as I have heard, admits of no Antidote. One day as I was coming thro' a Wood in my return from Hunting, I chanc'd to break off a little Branch of it, and without making any Reflection, or having heard of this Tree, I put a little bit of it in my Mouth. I threw it away that instant without swallowing my Spittle, and yet I thought I should have died of it. For twenty-four hours together, it seem'd to me as if some body was throtling me, and my Throat was so swell'd, I could hardly breath. In Countries where one is an absolute Stranger, one ought to take particular care of these sort of things. I was told the only way to distinguish the venomous Fruits in these Islands, from such as were not so, was to offer them to some Ape of the Island,[1] who if they were naught, would undoubtedly refuse them. In the

Mr. Scott Elliott, *Bois de Tierle*." Professor Balfour writes, with regard to *Monimia*: "It may be worth noting what may, however, be merely a coincidence—the allied genus *Tambourina* has a species, *Bois tambour* (there is the translator's T. tree?)—and some species of *Tambourina* have been called *Mithridatea*—and this genus was founded by Commerson, the father of so many Mascarene genera, and taken up by Schreber. I do not find any poisonous qualities now attributed to the Monimiaceæ; but if the tree had not some reputation in connection with poisoning—antidotal or itself venomous—why should Commerson give it such a name? At least it should be a medicine-yielding tree. . . . . Unless some evidence from the nomenclature takes one to *Stillingia*, I should prefer to trust to the clue which such evidence affords and seek for the plant either among the *Vitis* or the *Monimiaceæ*. . . . . I cannot conjecture what it (the *Stroutboom*) might be. It would be strange if the name of so conspicuous a tree as the Mapou must have been in Leguat's time was transferred to another tree without its properties, even if the original Mapou were exterminated."

[1] In orig.: "parce qu'on peut à coup sûr manger de ce qu'il mange, comme on doit aussi laisser ce quil persiste à refuser."

middle of the Country in a great Plain[1] environ'd with Mountains, there is a Wood that is very dangerous to go into. The Branches of the Trees are so thick at top, and so interlac'd with one another, that it is altogether impossible to see the Sun, by which means one wanders one knows not whither, and oftentimes one is lost as it were in a Labyrinth, which Misfortune is so much the greater, in that one meets with nothing to eat.

1 "Plain and Forest." The Abbé de la Caille states that in 1753, when he surveyed the island: "The Isle of France is almost entirely covered with woods, which are of a handsome appearance, particularly on the south-east side; but a passage through is rendered very difficult and troublesome, from the quantity of fern and creeping plants. These plants, whose branches, like those of our ivy, wind about and interlace themselves with the shrubs and dead wood, render the forests in a great measure impassable. Nor can a passage be obtained in any part of them but by circuitous ways, which are known to few. These forests are the refuge of the Maroon negroes." He has marked "*Forêt très Epaisse*", N.W. of the Montagne des Créoles, in the Municipality of Grand Port, in his map.

Mr. Pike says: "The ascent on the Grand Port side is so rugged and steep, that it is called l'Escalier, and between it and the Rivière Tabac stands a fair-sized village. Beyond this lies a tract of country, in former times a dense forest, containing such fine timber-trees that it obtained the name of Gros Bois. From the destruction of these trees, even so early as the time of occupation by the Dutch, doubtless many species, once abundant, are now rare, if not wholly extinct. The reckless way the trees were cut down by the crews of every vessel that touched here must have made great changes in the forests. During the present century the same want of system has prevented the growth to full size of the best timber. In the Gros Bois are still fine specimens of *Calophyllum*, but they are rare. The Tatamaka, Elæodendron, Colophon, and two species of ebony yet abound, and a host of others." (*Op. cit.*, p. 320.) "The East India Company set apart, for their forges at Mondesir, an extent of wood of ten thousand acres called the Reserves; they then imagined that, by making regular falls of timber in these lofty woods, they would shoot forth again the following year, and that the young trees, being left untouched, would replace the larger ones. But it was found that the woods, once cut down, did not grow again; and, in the year 1770, the people at Mondesir were obliged to go a league and a half to fetch charcoal." (Le Gentil, *l. c.*, ii, p. 680.)

The Governor of Isle Maurice[1] before this last, happen'd one day to enter this Wood, and plung'd himself so deep into it before he was aware, that he knew not how to get out. Both he and his followers had soon made an end of their Provisions, and they were just ready to starve, when by good fortune they chanc'd to find a way out, after they had vainly sought one for four days.

The other Woods of this Island are easie enough to traverse. There are some very pleasant, and where you find Apes[2] of divers kinds. These mischievous Beasts do a great deal of damage to the Inhabitants, inasmuch as they take delight in plucking up whatever is sown.

This island in general is very Mountainous, and full of Woods, as most Countries are that are slenderly Inhabited. It is water'd by divers rapid Rivers,[3] on some of which the

[1] M. La Mocius, predecessor to M. Rodolphe Diodati, *vide ante*, p. 151.

[2] Monkeys were introduced by the Portuguese into the island, according to the Abbé de la Caille. There are two species, both of a middling size, the largest of which has thick hair of a reddish-grey colour, with a long tail; they are both gregarious. These animals frequently venture in droves, sometimes of sixty or seventy, to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. (Pridham, *l. c.*, p. 226; cf. *Grant*, p. 65.)

M. Bernardin de St. Pierre has recorded: "The monkey of the Isle of France is of a middling size. It is of a reddish-grey cast, and has a long tail. This animal is fond of society. I have seen them in troops of sixty at a time. They frequently come in droves and pillage the houses. Scouts are placed on the tops of trees and the points of the rocks, who, as soon as they see any dogs or hunters approach, cry out, to alarm the others, who immediately decamp. They will climb up the steepest mountain, and rest upon the slightest edge of a precipice, where no other quadruped (?) of its size dare venture." (*Op. cit.*, p. 67.)

[3] "The island", writes Bernardin de St. Pierre, "is watered by about sixty rivulets, some of which have no water in the dry season, especially since so much timber has been cut down. The interior part of the island is full of ponds, and in this part it rains nearly all the year round, the clouds being stopped by the mountains and the woods at the top of them." M. de St. Pierre also notices a cotton-mill, worked by water, constructed by M. de Seligny at Grande Rivière; and he also remarks a large mill, nearly fallen to ruins, at Grand Port. (*l. c.*, p. 56.)

Inhabitants have built Mills to saw Boards. These Rivers have Fish enough.[1]

On each side of these Rivers you frequently meet with little Valleys, whose Soil is admirably good. There are great tracts of Ground level enough, especially that formerly mention'd call'd *Flac*[2] or *Flat-Ground:* 'tis on this Spot, the

[1] "The fresh-water fish are better than ours; and appear to be of the same kind as those which are taken in the sea. Among these the best are the lubin, the mullet, and the carp; the cabot, that lives in the torrents formed by rocks, to which it adheres by means of a concave membrane; and very large and delicate shrimps. The eel is a kind of conger; there are some from seven to eight feet in length, and of the thickness of a man's leg; they retire into the holes of the rivers, and sometimes devour those who are so imprudent as to bathe there." (Baron Grant, *l. c.*, p. 59.)

"Foreign fish have been even brought to this place. The *Gourami* comes from Batavia. It is a fresh-water fish, and is esteemed to be the best in the Indies. It is like the salmon, but more delicate. Here are also the gold-fish from China, which lose their beauty as they increase in size. These two species multiply in the pools." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.) The Gourami or Gouramier is the *Osphromenus olfax*.

[2] "This part, which is called *la Flacq*, is the best cultivated in the island; rice grows in great plenty. There is a creek in the rocks, by which barges can come and load with the greatest convenience." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 170.) *Vide supra*, p. 149.

M. de Gentil, who wrote in 1779, states: "The District of Flacq, which is a quarry of rocks, produces the finest maize. Such a soil is not favourable to corn; the inhabitants, therefore, clear away the smallest stones, and plant maize in the places which they occupied, where it is found to luxuriate and grow to the height of from eight to ten feet; and, unpromising as the soil is, the settlers look for two, and sometimes three, harvests in the course of the year. A certain portion of it they pour into the public magazines; with the rest they nourish their slaves, barter for corn, and feed their hogs and poultry, with which they traffic. They have every convenience that is to be derived from water, as Flacq is a kind of archipelago, on account of the various branches of water that intersect it. This quarter also possesses, in the low grounds towards the sea, some parcels of ground which are proper for the cultivation of rice; and it was that part of the island which supplied the Company's magazine with such a necessary article." "At Flacq the corn generally produces twenty-fold, and sometimes thirty in fresh ground; but no more than ten in that which has been in a long and successive state of tillage. (Vide *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, vol. ii, pp. 669, 672.)

greatest part of the Colony inhabit. I don't know whether I have already told you, that the *Company* has a Garden here furnish'd with all our Plants of Europe, especially such as could be cultivated with Success in this foreign Climate. Wheat will not thrive there, nor any other sort of Corn.

The Vine grows well enough, and I have seen good Arbours; but the Grapes don't ripen well, which it may be, may proceed partly from the Ignorance or Laziness of those that cultivate them, or rather that do not cultivate them at all.

It is from this Garden the *Company* has its Potatoes, Fruits, and other things with which it feeds[1] its Garrison, the *Negroe*-Slaves, and all others that depend on it. A Boat goes every Week twice or thrice to the great River,[2] whence it brings all that has been brought thither from Flac on Waggons, for the use of the Fort. This is inconvenient and of great expence, it being above eight Leagues thither from Flac, which way is partly by Water, and partly by Land. The Earth about the Fort is extreamly barren, and the Water is by no means good, being impregnated with Salt-Petre. There is a corner in the Island call'd the *Burnt Country*,[3]

[1] "Whatever is bought for the king, is sold to him at one-third less than its real worth—the corn of the inhabitants, all buildings erected for him, stores, and expeditions of every sort." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 175.)

[2] *Grande Rivière Sud-Est*, as distinguished from *la Grande Rivière*, near Port Louis. At the mouth of this river is a convenient port for small vessels, protected by a battery and military station, opposite the northern entrance to Grand Port (see map, *supra*, p. 160), and some eight miles south of Flacq. This was *de Groote Rivier* of the Dutch, represented by van Braam as joined by *de Katties Rivier*, and falling into Both's Bay. It is one of the largest rivers in the island, rising by the *Piton du Milieu*, and draining the northern slopes of the Bambou Mountains. It is joined by the *Rivière Profonde*, which drains the southern flanks of the Blanche Mountains, both streams traversing the district called *Trois Islots*. Below the junction of their waters their channel is obstructed by a dyke of basalt, by which a fine cascade is formed.

[3] The "Burnt Country", near Grand Bassin, now called "*Le Bois*

because the Trees that were formerly there were burnt, but there have several come up since in their stead, although the Soil be Rocky.

Potatoes[1] thrive here wonderfully everywhere, and are the ordinary food of the Inhabitants. These sort of *Topinambous*[2] serve them for Bread, in like manner as to the common People of *Ireland*. When they have a mind to have any Rice, they buy it of the *Company*. It is not but that Grain will grow here,[3] the Water and Earth being proper for it in divers Places, but these People are too Idle and Lazy to cultivate it, this sort of Grain requiring a more than ordinary Care: The common Meat here is Venison.[4]

Sec", is a curious district, dreary in the extreme, where thousands of dried-up skeletons of trees, blanched to a ghastly whiteness, meet the eye on every side, contrasting with the neighbouring evergreen woods. It is the portion of a forest which has, apparently, been blighted by the poisonous exhalations from some volcanic fissure, in connection, possibly, with the adjacent extinct crater-lake, Grand Bassin, now filled with water. (See Pike, *l. c.*, p. 318.) The district within the active sphere of the volcano in Réunion is still named *Le pays brulé*.

[1] *Patates*, wrongly translated potatoes, are the various species of so-called sweet potato (*Convolvulus Batatas*), of which a number of excellent varieties are grown in the island. The American potatoes, *pommes de terre* (*Solanum tuberosum*), grow almost wild on the heights of the Réunion Mountains, and are exported thence to Mauritius.

[2] Topinambours are Jerusalem artichokes (*Helianthus tuberosus*).

[3] "*Rice*, the best and perhaps the most wholesome of all aliments, thrives very much. It keeps longer than wheat, and yields more plentifully. A wet soil agrees with it best. There are above seven different species of it in Asia, one of which grows best in a dry soil; it were to be wished that this grain were cultivated in Europe, on account of its extraordinary fertility." (B. de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 112.)

[4] "There are in the woods wild goats, wild hogs, and especially stags, which had multiplied to such a degree, that whole squadrons were supplied with venison for provisions. Their flesh is very good, especially during the months of April, May, June, July, and August." (*Ibid.*, p. 134.)

"Between the two mouths of the Black River, a stag pursued by hounds and hunters came straight towards me. The poor beast wept and panted; as I could not save it, and was unwilling to kill it, I fired one of my charges in the air. He then took to the water, and

The Deer are so fat, that after having ran a quarter of a League they drop down, and submit themselves to the mercy of the Dogs: Here are likewise great numbers of Goats; they are very fat, and their Flesh has no ill Tast. They are much eaten while the Deer are in their Rutting-time, because the Venison has a stinking and insupportable Tast: Here are Hogs of the *China* kind.[1] Altho' these are not near so good as our wild Boars, yet they are much eaten for all that: These Beasts do a great deal of Damage to the Inhabitants, by devouring all the young Animals they can catch.

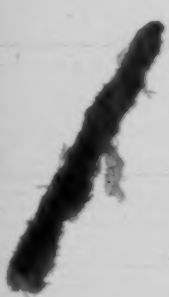
The Bulls and Cows of the better kind have been brought hither from *Madagascar*,[2] and they have multiply'd exceedingly; they have a bunch upon their backs. The Cows afford but very little milk. One *Holland* one yields six times as much, neither is their Beef near so good as ours. There are wild Cows that are originally of this Island, or at least

was overtaken and killed by the dogs." (*St. Pierre*, p. 151.) The editor of the present version has witnessed a similar scene, when a fine stag swam halfway across the bay at Black River; but it was pursued by some gunners, who captured it, and cut its throat. The deer still exist in considerable numbers, being carefully preserved; they are of the species from India known as the Sambur.

[1] "The *Cochon marron* of Mauritius has evidently descended from animals introduced by the first Portuguese voyagers. Whether they are from a *Chinese* stock, as Leguat avers, it would be impossible now to determine. The boars grow to a considerable size, have fine tusks, and their shoulder-plates are of wonderful toughness; in all respects they rival the wild boar of Europe. They occasionally attain to a weight of four hundred pounds, with tusks nine inches in length." (*Vide* Pike, *l. c.*, p. 219.)

[2] "Among those animals which we may call the domestic quadrupeds, are sheep, that fatten and lose their wool, goats that thrive prodigiously, and oxen of the Madagascar breed, that have a great hump on their neck; the cows of this breed give but very little milk; those from Europe give much more, but their calves degenerate. I saw once two cows and two bulls from Bengal which were no bigger than an ass. This breed did not succeed." (B. de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 134.)

LE GEANT.



were found there by those that first discover'd it, but they must of necessity have been brought thither one time or other. Here are also many wild Horses,[1] which are sometimes kill'd to feed Dogs with. These two sorts of Animals, I mean Dogs and Horses, are subject to the Falling-Sickness,[2] and several of them die of it, especially when they are young.

This Island formerly abounded with wild Geese[3] and Ducks, Moor-Hens, Water-Quails, Sea and Land Tortoises, but now all these are become scarce. The Sharks also, and divers other Sea-Animals[4] have forsook it, since the Natives have been accustom'd to lay Nets for them. You shall see

[1] "Horses are very dear, and by no means fine ones. A common horse cannot be bought for less than a hundred pistoles. They fall to decay very soon at the Port, from the excessive heat. They are never shod, although the island is so rocky. Mules are rarely seen. The asses are small, but few in number." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 135.)

[2] In orig.: "au haut mal," *i.e.*, the staggers.

[3] Writing in 1769, Bernardin de St. Pierre remarks: "There is great plenty of every-thing at Black River, of game, venison, and both fresh-water and sea fish. While we were at dinner one day, a servant came to tell us that some *lamentins* were seen in the bay; we ran down immediately; they cast nets across the entrance, and, when drawn ashore, we found a great quantity of sword-fish, of skates, two sea-turtles, and other kinds of fish; but the *lamentins* had escaped" (*l. c.*, p. 141).

Bernardin de St. Pierre visited this port in 1769, at which time he writes: "The South-East Port was formerly inhabited by the Dutch, one of whose ancient buildings is now used as a chapel. There are two ways to enter the Port, one at Point Diable, for small vessels; the other, which is much wider, is by the side of an island (*Ile de la Passe*) towards the middle. At each of these places is a battery, and at the bottom of the bay is a third, called the Queen's battery" (*l. c.*, p. 166; vide *ante*, p. 196, to which page this note belongs.)

[4] "Whales frequently come into the South-East Port, where it would be very easy and safe to harpoon them. Fish is very plentiful upon this coast, especially shell-fish of the most beautiful kinds. Whales are often seen to the windward of this island about September, the time of their coupling. I have seen many this season, that kept themselves upright in the water, and came very near the coast. They are smaller than the northern ones. There is no whale fishery, but the

great flights of Bitterns,[1] and many of those Birds call'd Giants,[2] because they are six foot high. They are extreamly high mounted, and have very long necks: Their Bodies are not bigger than that of a Goose. They are all white, except a little place under their Wings, which is reddish. They have a Goose's Bill, but a little sharper; their Claws are very long, and divided. They feed in Marshy Places, and the *Dogs* frequently surprize them, because they require a considerable time to get upon the Wing: We saw one one day at *Rodrigo*, and we took him with our Hands, he was so fat. That was the only one we observ'd there, which made me i[illegible]ble to believe he had been carry'd thither by some Wind he could not resist. This Game is good enough.

There are also a kind of small Birds[3] pretty much like our Sparrows, except that their throats are red. Parrots[4] of

negroes are not unacquainted with the method of harpooning them. Sea-cows are sometimes caught here; I have eaten of them; their flesh is like beef; I never saw any of this fish." (*Voyage to the Isle of France, l. c.*, p. 75.)

[1] "Bitterns." Probably the night-herons, now extinct, before mentioned, at Rodriguez. At Réunion ancient voyagers speak of large blue birds, which frequented the *plaine des Cafres*, which are supposed to have been the Madagascan "*poule sultane*" (*porphyrio Madagascariensis*); vide *ante*, p. 45. See Appendix.

[2] "There are there a great many birds, such as bitterns (*puttooren*); also a bird called the giant, because its head stands quite five to six feet high, besides they are very long in the legs and neck, but as to the body not larger than a goose. Perhaps this is the *walg-vogel* about which we read in the second voyage of *Jacob van Neck*." (Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 152; vide *ante*, p. 44, and Appendix.)

[3] "There is a beautiful *tilmouse* here with a number of white specks on the wings, and the *Cardinal* (*Foudia Madagascariensis*), whose head, neck, and belly, at a particular season, are of a lively red; the rest of its plumage is of a pearl-coloured grey. This bird comes from Bengal." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 133). Rice-birds or "calfats" (*Munia oryzivora*).

[4] Parrots (*Lophopsittacus*, and *Poliopsitta cana*) and parroquets (*Coracopsis vaza?*). "I have seen many sorts of Parrots, but none very handsome. There is a species of green parroquet with a grey head. They

all sorts are likewise to be found here in great abundance. Here moreover are Pigeons[1] and Blackbirds,[2] but few of them. Bats,[3] which are much valued in this Country, are here in great Numbers, as are likewise Lizards.[4]

are as large as sparrows. It is impossible to tame them. These also are enemies to the harvest, but they are very good to eat." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.)

[1] "There is a pigeon called the Dutch-pigeon, of a most magnificent plumage; and another sort, which, although of a very pleasant taste, are so dangerous, that those who eat them are thrown into convulsions." (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.)

[2] "Blackbirds." "A bird that has multiplied very fast in the island is the *Martin* (*Acridotheres tristis*), a species of the Indian *sansonnet*, or *Fiskin* (? starling), with a yellow beak and claws. It differs but little from ours except in plumage, which is less spotted. In chirping, however, as well as in an aptitude to talk, and to mimic other birds, it perfectly resembles the European species. It will perch upon and peck at beasts without fear, but the prey which it pursues with an unwearied perseverance is the grasshopper (*Gryllus Capensis*), numbers of which species are destroyed by it. The martins always fly about in pairs, and assemble constantly at sunset in flocks of some thousands. After a general chattering, the whole republic falls asleep, and at daybreak again disperses in pairs to the different quarters of the island. This bird is hot fit to eat; yet they are sometimes shot, though shooting them is prohibited." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 132.) "In the woods are found black-birds, which, when called to by a sportsman, will come to the muzzle of his gun. This is a kind of game much in request" (*Coq de bois?*). (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.) "The Isle of France was formerly exposed to the ravages of locusts. None of these noxious insects, however, have been seen since 1770. It is pretended that the *Martins*, a kind of bird brought here from India, and which have multiplied in a very extraordinary manner, have destroyed them. It is certain that these birds feed upon them with avidity, when they are just produced, and before they have wings." (Observations by M. de Cossigny, Governor of the Isle de France in 1791. See *Grant*, p. 518.)

[3] "Bats." "Two sorts of bats are found here; one like ours, the other as big as a small cat, very fat; and is eaten by the inhabitants as a rarity." (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.)

[4] "Lizards." "The apartments are at certain seasons filled with moths or small butterflies, that come and singe themselves in the candle. They are so numerous that the candles are frequently obliged to be put into cylinders of glass. They draw into the houses a very handsome small lizard, about a finger's length. Its eyes are lively; it

Ardea Indica
Tringa major

Rats[1] and Mice swarm here, and do a great deal of damage to the *Company* and Inhabitants, by gnawing their Sugar-Canes, and devouring their Pulse. If they would make use of the same means we did at *Rodrigo*, they might get rid of the greatest part of them; yet some few Regiments of Cats would make the shortest work with them, and soon exterminate those mischievous Vermin.

Small and green Caterpillars[2] reign here for three or four Months in the year, and eat up almost every thing.

climbs along the walls, and even along the glass; lives upon flies and other insects, and watches with great patience for an opportunity of catching them. It lays eggs that are small and round like peas, having a white and yellow shell, as the eggs of pullets. I have seen some of these lizards so tame that they would come and take sugar out of a person's hand. Far from being mischievous, they are, on the contrary, very useful. Some very beautiful ones are to be seen in the woods, of an azure and changeable green, marked with crimson on the back, like Arabic characters." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 73.)

[1] "The rat seems a native of this island. There are prodigious numbers of them, and it is said that the place was abandoned by the Dutch because of this creature. In some houses they are so numerous that 30,000 are killed in a year. They make large hoards under ground, both of corn and fruits, and climb up to the tops of trees to eat the young birds. They will pierce the very thickest rafters. One may see them at sunset, running about in all parts, and in one night they will destroy an entire crop. I have seen a field of maize in which they have not left one single ear. They are exactly like the rats of Europe, and have, very possibly, come from thence in ships. Mice are very common here; the havoc they make is incredible." (St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.)

"The breed of cats degenerate greatly on this island; they grow lean and thin-flanked. The rats scarcely fear them; the dogs are, therefore, the rat-catchers, and my *Favourite* has often distinguished himself in this service. I have seen him strangle the largest rat in the Southern hemisphere. The dogs, in the long run, lose their hair and their sense of smelling, but it is said they never go mad here". (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 135.)

[2] "In the trunks of the trees there is found a large worm, with paws, that picks the trees; they call it *Montac*. The blacks, and even the white people, eat them greedily." (*Ibid., l. c.*, p. 72.) "The centipedes are frequently found in damp places. This insect seems destined to drive mankind from the unwholesome air they breed

Sea and Land Crabs[1] are here also to be found, but in small numbers.

in. Its sting is very painful. My dog was bit by one of them, which was more than six inches long; the wound turned to a kind of ulcer, and was three weeks in healing." (*Ibid.*, *l. c.*, p. 70.)

[1] "There are lobsters or cray-fish of a prodigious size, their claws are not large; they are blue-marbled with black. I have seen here a species of lobster that is smaller and of a beautiful form; it was of a sky-blue; it had two little claws, divided into two articulations, like a knife with the blade shutting into the handle."

"There is a great variety of crabs. The following seemed to be most worthy of notice. A sort that is rugged, with tubercules and points like a madrepore (*Parthenope spinosissima*); another that has upon its back the impression of five seals; another with something in the shape of a horse-shoe at the end of its claws; a sort covered with hair, that has no claws, and that adheres to the sides of ships; a crab marbled with grey, the shell of which, though smooth and polished, is very uneven. Many irregular and strange figures are observable among these, which are, notwithstanding, perfectly alike upon each crab; that with its eyes at the end of two long tubes like telescopes, which, when it is not using them, it deposits in grooves along the side of its shell. A crab with red claws, one much larger than the other (*Cancer sanguinolentus*). A small crab with a shell thrice as big as itself, in which it is covered over as by a buckler, so that its claws cannot be seen when it walks." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 77.)

"A kind of crab has been lately discovered to burrow at the foot of the coco-nut palm. Nature has provided this animal with a long claw, at the end of which is a nail serving to extract the substance of the fruit by the holes I have described. It has not the large pincers of other crabs—they would be useless to it. This animal was discovered on the Isle of Palms, to the north of Madagascar, by the shipwrecked crew of the *Heureux*, which was lost there going to Bengal." (*Ibid.*, p. 127.)

"The sea-side is full of holes in which lodge a great number of *Toulouroux*; they are an amphibious crab, and make burrows underground like moles. They run very fast, and if you attempt to catch them they snap their claws, and present their points by way of menace." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.)

"Another amphibious and very extraordinary creature is the *Bernard l'Hermite*, a kind of lobster whose hinder part is not provided with a shell, but it instinctively lodges itself in empty shells which it finds on the shore. One may see them run along in great numbers, each with its house after it, which it abandons for a larger when its growth makes it necessary." (*Ibid.*, p. 70.)

Here are no Serpents[1] to be seen, and the People say they have been miraculously driven from this Island, as the *Irish* pretend *St. Patrick* has banish'd all venomous Animals from their Country.

There are neither Lice nor Fleas, nor Toads,[2] nor Frogs to be seen here, no more than at *Rodrigo*, and I fancy there are none in any of the Islands hereabouts. This abounds with Fish,[3] and affords sometimes yellow Amber,[4] and Ambergreece in like manner with *Rodrigo*.

Hurricanes were formerly very frequent and furious in this Island, but for twenty years, or thereabouts, they have none but that before-mention'd which we underwent on our Rock. 'Tis true, they have in their stead, at certain Seasons,[5]

[1] "Serpents." "There are no serpents in the Isle of France, and it is said that they cannot live there; while in the surrounding islets, called the *Isle Ronde*, the *Isle Longue*, and the *Coin de Mire*, there are both adders and serpents. I do not pretend to verify this opinion, but in the *Coin de Mire* I have seen lizards twelve inches long." (*De la Caille; vide* Grant, *l. c.*, p. 378.)

Curiously enough, snakes have been found in Round Island at fourteen miles north-east of Mauritius, although not on the mainland. They belong to the Python family, forming a distinct genus, *Casarea*. (Cf. Wallace, *Island Life*, Part II, chap. xix.)

[2] No frogs or toads, but such as have been introduced, exist in the Mascarene islands. Some European and Indian species, including *Bufo melanostictus*, are now acclimatised inhabitants. (Wallace, *l. c.*, p. 409.)

[3] "The coasts", says Baron Grant in 1741, "abound in fish, which have been already described, as well as enormous eels which are found in the rivers. I have frequently killed them with my gun in shallow waters." (*Op. cit.*, p. 195.) "The *Vieille* is a blackish fish, and in form and taste a good deal like the cod-fish . . . . The water-pullet, a sort of turbot, is the best of all the fish caught here; the fat is green." (*St. Pierre*, p. 76.)

[4] Certain islets on the north-east coast of Mauritius yet retain the name of *les Iles d'Ambre*; vide *ante*, p. 153.

[5] Dr. Meldrum has established, from careful observation, the periodicity of cyclone frequency in the southern Indian Ocean; thus the five years 1847-51 were characterised by cyclone frequency, then came a

Winds that are very violent, and accompany'd with great Rains.

It is a very singular thing in this Island, if what I have been told be true, that when-ever any Hurricane comes, it is always on the 9th of *February*. This passes for a current Truth.

The Inhabitants chuse for their Sowing-time[1] this rainy Weather, which continues, without Intermission, for five or six Weeks together. This Island is not unhealthy, altho' the Heats be sometimes most excessive. Fair Weather commonly lasts there from the Month of *June* to that of *February*.

After having waited for a favourable Wind above six[2] Weeks, we at length set sail about six a clock in the Morning, and so escap'd the pernicious Paws of the Sieur *Rod. Diodati*.

The Wind having shifted all of a sudden, we found ourselves oblig'd to drop Anchor: About Noon it came about to the South-East, and then we sail'd again, but we had soon after so great a Calm, that we saw the Island *Maurice* even on the ninth day. We return'd as far as the thirty-ninth Degree to find the Westerly Winds, which conducted us to

period of comparative calm (1852-57), which was followed by six years (1858-63) remarkable for cyclones. The next five years (1864-68) showed a considerable decrease, and since (1869-74) there was again an increase, and so on. This periodicity has been found to coincide with the cycle of sun-spots. (Vide *Nature*, vol. vi, p. 358.)

[1] "Sowing-time." "The summer is very dry and the ground is in a state of aridity during that season. The warm rains then succeed, giving such vigour to vegetation that the weeds frequently prevail over the regular crops, which are twofold in the course of the year. In this season is sown the maize. In the month of May and June we sow our corn, which we reap at the end of September, as well as various kinds of beans, the greater part of which is sent to the magazines of the Company, to be ready for supplying the ships. Corn generally produces an hundred-fold." (*Baron Grant*, p. 194.)

[2] In orig.: "plus de trois semaines."

the Bar of Batavia, without meeting with any thing extraordinary in our Passage.

As the Governor of the Isle *Maurice* had put us under Arrest in his Island, we were kept the same till we came to *Batavia*. At our Landing we were put in Prison, and we continu'd there till the next day, the 16th of *December*.

The Council of State of the *Indies*[1] assembled that day, and we were carry'd before them. We presented our Petition, in which we set forth amply all the Injustice had been done us at Isle *Maurice*; and their Lordships having at first conceiv'd the Justice of our Cause, they restor'd us our Liberty, of which we had been depriv'd for so long a time, and lodg'd us in the Saphir, which is one of the Bastions

[1] "The chief government of Batavia, and of all the possessions of the Dutch East-India Company in Asia, is vested in the Council of India, with the Governor-General at their head. This Council consisted (in 1763, when Admiral Stavorinus was there) of, besides the Director-General, five ordinary counsellors, including the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, nine extraordinary counsellors and two secretaries. This Council determined affairs of every kind, those which related to the administration of justice alone excepted (vide *ante*, pp. 192, 193). Yet, in civil matters an appeal could be made from the sentence of the Council of Justice to the Council of India. The authority of the Governor-General, however, was almost unbounded; and, although obliged to give cognizance to the Council, and to consult them on some matters, he possessed the most arbitrary and independent power of all; for there were few members of the Council who were not in need of his good offices, in some instance or the other; for example, in order to obtain lucrative employment for their relatives or favourites; and if this was not sufficient to make them obey the nod of the Governor, he was not destitute of the means of tormenting them, in every way, under various pretences, nay, of sending them prisoners to Europe." (*Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 276-78.)

The Governor-General at Batavia, when Leguat and his unfortunate companions were confined there, was Willem van Outhoorn, whose life and portrait are given by François Valentyn in his noble folios; the likeness is evidently taken from the painting in the hall where the Council assembled.

of the Fort.[1] The Fleet was ready to depart, but the Council were so busie with other Affairs that they could not find time to look into Ours, so that, on the 14th[2] of *February* 1697, the General call'd one of us to him that spoke *Dutch*, and told him that the time was too short to examine our Pretensions, and that we should not return into *Holland* before pressing Affairs were determin'd; that we must suffer this Fleet to depart, and that if our business could not be effected in five or six Weeks' time,[3] our worst would be to remain at *Batavia* for a year, or thereabouts, where by reason we were stript of all, we should be listed for Soldiers, and allow'd Pay to the day of our Arrival in *Holland*.[4] The General added, that in that time he would dispatch a Vessel

[1] Vide *infra*.

[2] In orig.: "le 4me Janvier."

[3] In orig.: "(auquel temps deux Vaisseaux que l'on attendoit devoient repartir)," omitted by translator.

[4] "The Dutch", writes Le Sieur Luillier, in 1701, "are the wealthiest the strongest, and the greatest dealers of all Europeans in India, for they have never less than forty ships, and often more, trading continually from one place to another; with the produce whereof, and revenue of their dominions, they every year load thirteen or fourteen tall ships for Europe, whence as many come yearly, and so return, but they change their crews. For as soon as a commander comes from Europe, they put him into another ship, and those who have been three years in the service return home if they please. In order whereto they present a petition to the Council, which never rejects it, if the petitioners are fit to return; and if there be not so many as to supply all the ships that are to return to Europe, the Governor consults who are the properest to be sent, that is, such as have made the best of their time, and are best able when they come home to maintain their families. The Dutch Company would have all that are in its service to thrive, and if any officer does not look after his own private business he is little look'd upon; the Hollanders believing that he who neglects his own will not be diligent in another's concerns. Thus, unless a commander appears industrious in laying up for himself, he is very rarely preferr'd, and must not hope to return home 'till he has made some provision, the Council never regarding the petitions he presents; so that he must stay

to Isle *Maurice*,[1] and so our Affairs should be happily ended. We insinuated those Conditions could not be extreamly agreeable to us, by reason we were not of the Dregs of the People, and that tho' we were now Poor and Miserable, that had wholly been occasion'd by the Governor of Isle *Maurice*, the *Company's* Officer, who had pillag'd us, and therefore 'twas against him that we demanded Justice, which if it were speedily afforded us, we should soon be in a Condition to subsist without the mean Pay of a Soldier.[2] But however good our Reasons might be, if they were not contradicted, they were not much hearken'd to. Our Persecutor had his Friends there, and we poor, half-starv'd, half-naked Creatures, were not considerable enough to turn the Scale, so that we must submit to what they would have us, and turn Soldiers.[3] We were posted in different Places, and as the *Sieur B—le*, who spoke *Dutch*, wrote likewise a very good Hand, he was thought worthy to fill the Place of Clerk to the Fort, where he was lodg'd.

The *Sieur de la Case* was detain'd still in Prison, but after several Petitions, we presented jointly with him for his Enlargement, the Council considering the Information they had receiv'd from Isle *Maurice*, and perceiving that his Crime consisted only in projecting a thing he never executed, nor endeavour'd to execute, they pronounc'd him Innocent, and made him a Soldier like the rest.

Our Amber-greece stuck in our Stomachs, as did likewise all the other things we had been robb'd of, *viz.*, Gold Ingots,

by force, and should he happen to get away without leave they would prosecute him as a deserter." (*Voyage to East India*, p. 321.)

[1] In orig.: "qui seroit en état de partir," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "Nous nous trouverions en état de subsister par nous-mêmes d'une manière plus agréable que dans la condition de Soldats."

[3] In orig.: "nous pauvres, décharnez & couverts de haillons, nous faisions une figure qui n'imposoit pas beaucoup de respect; de sorte qu'il fallut en passer par où on voulut, & devenir Soldat."

Coin'd Silver, Cloaths, Instruments and Utensils, which, without reckoning the Bark, amounted to the value of 2,000 Crowns. But the various Petitions we presented on this Head were always put off to another time.[1]

After we had continu'd five or six Months in this Condition at *Batavia*, the General sent for him whom he had made the Clerk of the Fort, and told him there had no occasion yet offer'd to send for the Governor of Isle *Maurice* to answer our Complaints in Person, and for that reason our Affairs could not for the present be search'd to the bottom, but he did not doubt they would do us Justice in *Holland*, and therefore we might if we pleas'd pursue it there, and get our selves ready to depart with the first Fleet.[2]

After this manner it pleas'd our Superiors at *Batavia* to determine our Suit. They need not have kept us there so long, to give us no better Satisfaction. They might have let us go at first according to our Desires, and tho' they made[3] us do Duty in the Vessel without Pay, as we had done in our Voyage from Isle *Maurice*. But those who were secretly

[1] In orig.: "rendre étant d'ordinaire une chose peu agréable aux rendeurs," omitted by translator.

[2] "The seamen coming out of Europe are, in the same manner, immediately put aboard other ships, and may not return into Europe under three years' service, being allowed some little trade for their greater encouragement; for the true way to be well serv'd is to promote the interest of those who are employ'd. Thus we see that there is no reason to admire that the Dutch are so wealthy, and so zealously serv'd in India, their care in advancing such as are in their service exciting all persons to be zealous in the performance of their duty; for the kindness of a master very often fixes the wavering fidelity of the servant. It is well known that the Dutch owe the flourishing condition they are in to the mighty trade they drive in several parts of the world; and it is no less plain that their greatest wealth is drawn from India, whence, as has been said, they yearly receive thirteen or fourteen ships richly laden; the cargo whereof outward-bound costs them little, and the import they vend to all other nations at their own rates." (Luillier, translation by Symson, *op. cit.*, p. 322.)

[3] In orig.: "au hasard même de servir."

in our Robbers' Interest, thought that a lengthening out of time, might in some measure efface the *Idæa* of his Infamy's, old Crimes never appearing so crying as new.

Some time after the *Sieur de la Haye*, one of our unfortunate Companions, dy'd of a Bloody Flux at *Batavia*, that being the ordinary Distemper reigning in those Countries; so that of five we were at first, there now remain'd but three, the Sieurs *Be—le*, *La Case*, and my Self.

Altho' there have been many Accounts of *Batavia*[1] the *Reader* will not think me impertinent if I acquaint him with what I have observ'd there during a year's Residence, without having any regard to what Descriptions have been made by others.

[1] The best account of the foundation and rise of Batavia is that in François Valentyn's great work, entitled *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie*. It was in 1619 that the Governor-General* took the town of Jaccatra, which he in a great measure destroyed, and founded another city, not exactly on the same spot, but very near it, to which he gave the name of Batavia; though it is said that he much wished to have called it New Horn, from the place of his nativity, Horn in North Holland. Although then an inconsiderable place, in point of strength and beauty, he declared it the capital of the Dutch settlements in India; his choice of the situation was so just, his plan so well contrived, and everything throve so fast under his care, that Batavia rose with unparalleled rapidity to that magnificence and importance which have rendered it both the admiration and the dread of all the more eastern nations of the Indies; and which still dazzle and overawe them, although the city has for these last fifty years (1748-98) greatly declined, both as to opulence and population. (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, i, 250.)

* Ian Pieterszoon Koen, whose likeness is portrayed by Valentyn. "The inestimable work of Valentyn", wrote Wilcocke, in 1793, to which the reader is so frequently referred, "is scarce even in Holland; it consists of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of 1,000 copper-plates." Mr. Wilcocke was in possession of a copy which he procured at much pains and expense; and he says that, "would his limits allow it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treasure locked up in a chest, of which few have the key, no translation having ever been made of it." (*Stavorinus*, vol. ii, p. 354.) There is a good copy of this valuable work in the London Library.

This City is so fine, and so considerable in all Respects, that it may well furnish new Subjects of Observation to every Traveller, and especially to the New-comers, who shall not fail to meet with continual Changes and Alterations.

It lies in a flat Country, in the Island of *Java*, in the sixteenth[1] Degree of South-Latitude, and is built altogether

[1] Batavia Observatory is in 6° 7′ 36″ lat. S., 106° 48′ 7″ long. E., of Greenwich. In orig.: "*an sixiëme degrê de Latitude Meridionale.*" The town was surrounded, as Leguat observed, by a rampart faced with stone and fortified with twenty-two bastions. The rampart was environed by a ditch about forty-five yards over, full of water at spring high tides, but nearly dry and stinking at low water during certain seasons. The approaches to the town were defended by several detached forts. In virtue of which prudent measures it was supposed that no enemy could ever surprise the city.

The city of Batavia might well obtain the appellation of being the Queen of the East, on account of the wealth of its inhabitants, the grandeur of its buildings, and the vast extent of its commerce. This was indeed the heart of the Dutch empire in India, as the island of Java itself constituted the principal source of all its opulence and strength. By the annexation of Holland to France the Dutch were deprived of the protection afforded by their alliance with Great Britain, and Batavia was captured by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, in August 1811, and relinquished to the Dutch after the fall of Napoleon, 1816.

The fortifications of Batavia were destroyed before the arrival of the British, by General Daendels, with a view to rendering the city more healthy. The town, says Thorn, has certainly a fine appearance, and contains many substantial houses. "The streets are broad, with canals in the middle, on each side of which is a gravelled road for the use of carriages, etc., and on the side next to the houses is a pavement six feet in width, for foot passengers. Rows of trees run along the sides of the canal, and the edge of each footpath, consisting principally of the Inophyllum and Calaba, the Canary Nut-tree, and the Guettarda Speciosa with its odoriferous flowers. The canals, which have numerous bridges over them, are generally of the same breadth as the carriage-roads." (*Vide* Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 252.)

"The castle at Batavia", says Thorn, "is very spacious, and contains a number of buildings and extensive warehouses, in the construction of which prodigious labour and expense must have been incurred. Such, however, was the unhealthiness of the place to the troops that they were withdrawn, and the spot converted into a depot for naval and

after the manner of *Holland*, but with white Stone. Its form is an oblong Square, and in an Angle towards the North-West is the Sea, and the Fort or Citadel. Its Length is about two Thousand common Paces, and its Breadth about fifteen Hundred. The Houses in general were formerly low built, but now they have got a Custom of building them higher, no more Hurricanes being to be fear'd, so that the City is become much finer than it was at first. The Streets are straight and large, and have for the most part Canals running through them, with tall Trees on their Banks, like those of *Holland*, but with this Difference, that the Trees here are always green.

The Canals are fill'd with clear Water from a certain River, which having run thro' the City,[1] discharges it self into the Sea. The City is surrounded with strong Walls, and flank'd with many good Bastions well furnish'd with Cannon.

The Citadel is a Fort with four Royal Bastions, fac'd with large square Stones, and built level with the Ground without any Ditch,[2] and consequently without Water, whatever the

military stores, magazines for spices and other valuable articles." (P. 253.)

"The city, however, is now much deserted, and all the wealthy inhabitants live in the environs, principally on two roads leading to Weltervreeden ; the one east called the Jacatra road, the other west through Molenvliet and Ryswick. These two elegant roads are planted with shady trees, and exhibit all along a number of very handsome houses, with beautiful gardens and plantations round them, thus forming a very agreeable excursion of about six miles." (P. 252.)

[1] In orig. : "en se communiquant çà & là," omitted by translator.

[2] There is an observable discrepancy in the different accounts as to the presence of a ditch to the citadel. The East India Officer [1747-48] says the fort has "four royal bastions faced with stone, but no other moat than the canals, which lie at some distance from the ramparts, are about twenty feet broad, and fordable in most places." (An almost exact copy of Leguat's words!) Stavorinus, on the other hand, later, distinctly states of the castle or citadel, that the walls and ramparts are built of coral-rock, and are about twenty feet in height. "It is surrounded by a

Abbot *de Choisy*[1] may say to the contrary, whose Voyage, in other respects, is good enough. At a certain distance from the Rampart, which is not equal on every side, there are indeed Canals of twenty, and twenty-five Foot broad, which defend, in some measure, the approaches to the Fort, altho' they are fordable almost every where, as I can well affirm who have often sounded them. You cross the Fort from North to South, there being in the middle of the two *Curtains* two Gates which look upon one another. As they have no reason to apprehend a sudden Siege, they have taken no care to leave the place of Arms as open as it ought to be, but on the contrary, have crouded it with Houses, for 'tis there the General, the Director-General, the ordinary and extraordinary Counsellors, and the other Officers and People belonging to the *Company*, live. This Fort commands both the Haven and the Town, and is mounted with about sixty Pieces of Cannon, fifteen or sixteen whereof have the Arms of *France* on them, having been taken from the *French*. The four Bastions have the names of the *Diamond*, *Ruby*,

wet ditch, over which on the south side lies a drawbridge. Between the moat and the buildings within the fort, on this side, there is a large area or esplanade." (*Op. cit.*, i, 225.) Captain Parish's account of this fortress, in Macartney's *Embassy to China*, 1793, is as follows: "A little above was the castle; a regular square fort, but without ravelins or outworks. It had two guns mounted on each flank, and two, or sometimes three, on each face; they were not *en barbette*, nor properly *en embrasure*, but in a situation between both, having both their disadvantages, without the advantage of either. The wall was of masonry, about twenty-four feet high. It had no ditch, but a canal surrounded it at some distance. It had no *cordon*." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 256.)

"In the middle of the city there is a large square which is used as a garrison. On the west side of this square stands a great church, whose cupola, though not so large, yet resembles that of St. Paul's at London so much, that the English sailors commonly give it that name." (*Voyage to East Indies*, 1747-48, p. 79.)

[1] "La citadelle est bâtie sur pilotis: elle est de quatre grands bastions avec un bon fossé d'eau vive." (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, par M. l'Abbé de Choisy, 2nd edit., p. 223.)

Pearl, and *Saphire*.[1] Between the Town and the Fort, Southerly of the latter, there is a considerable large Field where Sheep feed, which is travers'd by a fine row of Trees that lead to the Fort-Gate, within which is a *Corps de Guard*.[2] You may there see, between four Pallisadoes, a great number of Cannon for the Ships. Almost in the middle of the City there is a large square Place, where the Garrison is commonly drawn up, being about 1,000 Men. Myn Heer *Grevenbrook*, a very good Man, and an Officer of this Garrison, was so kind and generous to me on all Occasions, that I am glad of having here an opportunity to make my Acknowledgments to him. On one side Westward of this Place stands the great Church, Southerly the Guild-Hall or Town-House, Northerly there is a long range of fine Houses, and Easterly there runs one of the great Canals. Over and above this great Church, where Divine Worship is exercis'd in *Dutch*, there is another in the Citadel.

The reform'd *Portugueses* have two Churches, one in the City and another in the Suburbs; and these Congregations are very Numerous, because they consist of divers *Foreigners* that speak the Portuguese Language. The both Proselite and Reform'd *Malays* have also a Church in the City, where the Service is in their Language: This is a Translation of

[1] "Besides the forts," writes Smollett, "there is the famous citadel of Batavia, which is a very fine regular fortification situated at the mouth of the river, facing the city, and planted with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town." (*Op. cit.*, x, cap. i.)

Valentyn, in his *Life of Cornelis Speelman*, Governor-General of the Indian Nederlands, gives the number of guns in these bastions, with their names, *Diamant*, *Robyn*, *Sapphier*, and *Paarl*. The same author also gives engravings of the buildings within and without the citadel.

"This citadel", writes Smollett, "hath two great gates, the one called the Company's gate, built in 1636, with a bridge of square stone, of fourteen arches, each twenty-six yards long." (*Universal Hist.*, vol. x, cap. i.)

[2] "On the left side of the gate is a large building, which serves as a corps-de-garde, having in front a long gallery, resting upon a row of pillars. A captain's guard of grenadiers are generally posted here." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 257.)

the *Holland* Liturgy. This Church is large, and has a very numerous Congregation. The *Roman* Catholicks have also Liberty of Conscience, and do what they please in their own Houses, without the Magistrates intermedling, but they are to have the exercise of no Publick Worship.

The City is surrounded with an universal *Suburb* which extends above half a League into the Country, and which forming a second City much larger than the first contains likewise a greater number of Inhabitants. It is here the *Chineses* live, on account of their Burial-Places and Pagodes. They have also a Residence in the City and even an Hospital. The *Suburbs* have likewise Canals of divers sizes, with double rows of Trees. Besides the great Canal in the middle, there are two smaller on each side, about fifteen or twenty foot broad, which wash the Foundations of the Houses, insomuch that you can't enter them but over a Draw-Bridge: Behind are large Gardens and Orchards, which furnish *Batavia* with Pulse and Fruits. The Gardens of the City are small and few in number. The Houses of Gardiners, and other such like mean People in the *Suburbs*, are for the most part built with *Bamboos*, which are a sort of hollow, light, and very hard Canes as large as one's Thigh, and commonly forty or fifty foot long. These *Bamboos* are very beneficially made use of divers other ways, because they for a long time resist the injuries of the Air. They have here likewise divers other sorts of Canes: 'Tis very common to find a-top of these Canes large Ant-Nests, made of a fat Earth, which these Animals[1] carry up in the inside of the Canes. In these Nests every Ant has its little Cell apart, not unlike those the Bees make. 'Tis here they have their Residence, during the violent and frequent Rains which over-flow the Country for four or five Months in the year, and which would certainly drown them, if they had not this Secret to preserve themselves from Danger.

[1] Termites or white ants.

The Bay of *Batavia* is the finest and most secure of any in the World: Ships ride there without any danger all the year round; for that Sea is hardly ever agitated, as well because there are a great number of little Islands that break the Waves, as because the Winds there are never Violent. Every day, without ever failing, there rises about ten a Clock in the Morning a Sea-gale, which serves to carry the Chaloupes into the City, and at ten at Night there comes one from the Land, that carries the same Chaloupes out again to Sea. One belongs to the North, and the other to the South.[1]

These Chaloupes and some Fisher-boats go and come by a streight Canal that comes out of the River, and which is form'd by two Paralel-Lines supported by Piles, and fill'd with Earth, in like manner as the Dikes in *Holland*, or rather those of *Dunkirk*[2] are.

This Canal is twelve hundred common Paces long, and each Dike is about five and twenty foot broad. They would be wonderful fine Walks, if they were shaded with a double row of Trees. As there are no bad Winds there, those Trees would undoubtedly grow well, and I fancy their Roots would bind the Earth of the Dikes together, rather than loosen it.

Batavia being not only the general Magazine of the *Company*, and the Place from whence she sends most of her Fleets to all Parts of the World; and being likewise the place of Refuge and oftentimes the *Asylum* for the ships of other Nations; it is easie to imagine that the view of this Bay fill'd with so many large Vessels must be wonderfully pleasant, especially if you consider that you see at the same

[1] The regular tropical land and sea-breezes.

[2] *Dunkirk*, in 1702, was thus described by Dr. John Northleigh: "Its situation is on the North side of the Canal, environ'd by the Sea in form of a Halfmoon, the Breach of which is us'd to fill the Works with Sand, but this is resisted now by a long Bank of Timberwork, Faggots, and Fascines, that run for half a mile into the Sea." (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 721.)

time fifteen or twenty little Islands always cover'd with green Trees.

The *Company* builds its Ships at a small Island call'd *Onrut*,[1] about two Leagues from *Batavia*. It is well furnish'd, and provided with a good Artillery.

Altho' *Batavia* be far in the *Torrid Zone*, the Heats there are very Supportable, because the Sea-Winds, of which I have already spoken, refresh the Air extreamly, and render it temperate even at Noon-day.[2]

The Rains also are very frequent from the Month of *November*, to that of April, which is the time the Heats ought to be most Violent, because they are the six Summer Months of this Country.[3] In truth, the Days being almost equal to the Nights all the year round, and the Cold being in a manner unknown, we may say the Summer here is Perpetual. One judges of the Harvest by the Rain that falls more or less during these six Months; for when it does

[1] The works on the island of Onrust for building and repairing ships of all sizes were destroyed by Sir Edward Pellew; but previously ships were here hove down by cranes erected upon the wharves, when they required repairs. This little island was strongly fortified, and had a handsome church and large warehouses, being the great marine depôt; it was crowded with inhabitants, and was celebrated in Dutch poetry as one of the wonders of the Eastern world. (Cf. Thorn's *Conquest of Java*, p. 254.)

[2] Admiral Stavorinus writes: "What, however, is the most disagreeable circumstance attending a residence at Batavia, is the insalubrity of the climate, and the great degree of mortality which prevails there." Stavorinus goes on to attribute this unhealthiness to the low, swampy land, overgrown with trees and underwood, the neighbourhood of morasses and stagnant water, the "stinking mud-banks", "filthy bogs", and the slime, mollusca, dead fish, mud, and weeds thrown up along the shore, which, putrifying with the utmost rapidity, load the air with miasmata. Already in the time of Stavorinus all who could afford it had deserted the town to reside in the country higher up, whilst the numerous canals by neglect had become mere sewers. (*Op. cit.*, vol. iii, chap. vi.)

[3] From October to April the north-west monsoon of the Indian Ocean prevails on the coasts of Java and Sumatra, with bad weather and heavy rains.

but Rain little, or not at all, the Earth abounds so with Insects that the Fruits, Herbs, Pulse, and particularly the Rice are so eaten by them, that they are altogether spoil'd.

Rice is so common throughout all this Island, which has about two hundred Leagues in Length, to fifty in Breadth, that a Man can hardly eat a Farthings-worth in a Day, altho' great quantities are eaten there, Rice being the ordinary Bread of this Country. No other sort of Corn will grow here. That which they have is brought from *Bengala*, where it costs but a Farthing a Pound. There is a great deal brought to Batavia, from that Province of the Great *Mogul*; and Wheat-Bread is not sold dearer here than in *Holland*. The Natives do not at all care for it.

There are no Vine-yards in any part of *Java*; but at *Batavia*, and thereabouts, there are a great many Vine-Arbours,[1] whose Grapes are good enough to eat, but 'tis observ'd they come to no great Maturity. These Vines produce Fruit seven times in two years. As soon as the Grapes are gathered you cut the Vine, and in about three Months and a half, you will have new ones, that will be as ripe as can be here. These Vines bear Grapes the first year they are planted, and shoot more in one year, as do likewise all other Trees, than they would do in eight in *Europe*. For all this no Wine is made here, and that which is drunk comes either from *Persia* or *Spain*, and costs near a Crown a Pint.[2] Beer from *Brunswick*, call'd also *Mum*, is very dear here, but there is a sort made in the Country, which is tolerably good, that does not cost above a Penny a Pint. The Soldiers drink, for the same Price, a sort of Liquor call'd *Knip*, made of Brandy distill'd from Fruit and a certain Sea-froth. This is a more pernicious Potable than *Araque* at Isle *Maurice*, especially when it is new.

The ordinary Drink at *Batavia*, and the most cheap, is

[1] In orig.: "Vignes en treilles."

[2] In orig.: ("la quarte d'Angleterre)," omitted by translator.

Tea, which the *Chineses* sell for the most part in Rooms[1] for that purpose. For two *Dutch* Pence, they give you four different Cups of Sweet-Meats, containing each half a Pound, and another like Cup of White-sugar-candy; besides which they bring you as much *Tea* as four People can drink. They use ordinarily the best common *Tea*, which is sold at ten Pence[2] a Pound. Imperial *Tea* is worth twice that Money. In these same Places, you may likewise have *Coffee*, but it is sold a Penny a Dish, as in *England* and *Holland*.

They have at *Batavia* divers sorts of excellent Fruits, of which Grapes only and Water-Melons are known in *Europe*. The *Ananas*, *Coco's*, and *Bananes* are to be met with in great abundance.

Every one knows what the *Betel*-Leaves, and *Arequa* Nuts are, which all the Natives of this Island, both Men, Women, and Children chaw incessantly to fortifie their Gums and Stomach, for sometimes they swallow the Juice. This Juice is as red as Blood, and gives a like Tincture to the Spittle, which it provokes abundantly,[3] so that all who use this Drink have their Lips continually bloody as it were, which is no pleasant sight to look upon. When you are not accustom'd to this Drug, you find its Tast insupportably sharp, but otherwise it becomes like Tobacco,[4] and you find it difficult to leave it. If this *Betel* strengthens the Gums, as all say it does,[5] with all my Heart, but I'm sure at the same time it blackens the Teeth in that frightful manner, that these People must needs be ignorant of the sweetness and charms of a fair Mouth. *Betel* is a Shrub, shap'd somewhat like a Pepper-Tree, but has triangular Leaves, and is green all the

[1] In orig.: "& ce sont les *Chinois* qui tiennent ces sortes de cabarets."

[2] In orig.: "dix soûs" = 5*d*.

[3] In orig.: "qu'il faut perpetuellement cracher," omitted by translator.

[4] In orig.: "quand une fois on en a pris l'habitude," omitted by translator.

[5] In orig.: "j'y consens & je m'en rapporte à ce qui en est."

year round. The Tree that bears the Nut call'd *Arequa*, is very tall and straight. They commonly wrap up a quarter of an *Arequa*-Nut[1] in some *Betel*-Leaves, and so chaw them together: Some add a little Slack'd-Lime, but that is not in use at *Batavia*.

Mango is a Fruit of the Country, which passes for very good and very wholsom. It is commonly about the bigness of an Egg, but longer, and a little crooked like a Gerkin Cucumber. Its Rind is green and thick, and I have heard some say they have seen red of them. The inside is white, and tasts somewhat like a *Muscat*-Grape: It is very fast ty'd by its Fibres to the Stone, which is large. This Fruit grows upon a great Tree, very proper for the Carpenter.[2] There is a sort of *Mango* without a Stone, which is pickled in Vinegar like this, with Garlick, Anniseed, and some other Ingredients.

The Gardens[3] of *Batavia* furnish the Inhabitants with Herbs and Pulse of the *European* kind, from whence the

[1] "*Pinang* is the name of the kernel of the areca-nut (*Areca catheeu*); but it seems likewise to mean the mixture of the ingredients they use for mastication." (Wilcocke, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 78; vide *ante*, p. 197.)

"The betel is a plant which produces long rank leaves, in their shape resembling those of a citron; in taste they are of an agreeable bitter. The fruit grows in the shape of a lizard's tail, about two fingers' breadth, very long, of an aromatic flavour, and in its smell extremely grateful. The Indians carry with them continually the leaves of betel at all visits; they are presented in ceremony, and the natives are almost perpetually chewing them. As the taste is very bitter, they for the most part qualify them with araca fauful (a kind of nut something smaller than the nutmeg, without taste, and yielding when chewed a red juice), or the powder of calcined oyster-shells. Thus prepared they have a very agreeable flavour. After they have chewed the juice out of them, they spit forth the dry mass. There are some who mix their betel-leaves with lime, amber, and cardamom-seeds, others with Chinese tobacco." (*Universal Hist.*, vol. ix.)

[2] In orig.: "dont le bois est propre pour la charpente."

[3] The handsome country houses in the environs of Batavia, with beautiful gardens and plantations around them, extended for miles to the east, west, and south of the city. (Cf. Thorn and Stavorinus.)

Seed has been brought. This Island, moreover, as you may very well imagine, has its own particular Plants. Here follow two of them, which one of my Friends who has apply'd himself to that Study, has curiously design'd for me: I think they are little known; they say they only grow naturally in some of those little Islands which lie between *Borneo* and *Java*.[1]

Beef and Buffalo cost two pence a Pound, and are not much better one than the other. This Country abounds with a sort of wild Boars or Hogs, which you may have at very cheap rates. Mutton is extreamly dear here, and to be seen only at the best Tables. The Reason is that sheep are not rear'd without great difficulty, the pasture being not proper for them, and the Dew besides rotting them[2]: They swell and die in a short time. *China*-Pork, so call'd because the Hogs come from that Country, is sold at six-pence a Pound: They have Pullets, Ducks, and Pigeons, which are sold very near as dear as they are in *Europe*. Hunted Game is scarce, except *Pintado's*, of which I have already spoken, and whereof there are two or three kinds: You have abundance of Fish here, and that almost for nothing. There is but one reigning or common Distemper in the Island of *Java*, but which is very dangerous and extreamly painful. The *French* at *Batavia* call this Disease *Le Perse*: It is a continual Bloody Flux. As there is no known Remedy for it, the Patient must wait, live sparingly, and let Nature act, the surest and safest Method in most sorts of Maladies. One may truly say, according to the Etymology of the Word, that the Drugs which *Pharmacy* is compos'd of, generally speaking are rather a parcel of Poysons than Remedies, and they believe in *Java*, among the Islanders, that almost all

[1] The plates of these two extraordinary plants hardly suffice to give means of identification, and are, therefore, not included among the illustrations of this edition.

[2] In orig.: "& la rosée sur tout leur étant fort contraire."

those that prescribe them in *Europe* (much more blamable than those that sell them) are the Pests of Mankind. The common opinion is that *Buffalo*-Flesh and Fruit contribute much towards causing this Distemper, and, nevertheless, that is the Flesh which is most sold at the Butchers.

To speak Truth, *Batavia* is not a Place of very good Cheer. They want a great many Things, and what they have in common with us are scarce, high priz'd, and bad, in comparison of Ours. *China*-Pork, which I spoke of not long since, is luscious and insipid: The Poultry is not much better, and consequently the Eggs. The Pasture, quite different from ours of *Europe*, occasions bad Flesh, bad Milk, and bad Butter, but all these are to be had in small quantities.

What I have just now said of the Poultry, brings into my Remembrance the Sport of Cock-fighting, which is one of the greatest and most common Diversions of this Island. They breed up great numbers of these Animals on purpose, and arm them with sharp Iron Spurs, which they made use of with greater Dexterity than Force. The *Javans* are the Managers of these Sports, and whoever will, may come to them *Gratis*: Almost every Body is concern'd in Wagering more or less, and somtimes considerable Sums are lay'd. Whereas in *England*, where this Diversion is likewise common, they disfigure their Cocks by cutting off their Tails, and plucking out Feathers out of other parts of their Body,[1] they here leave them in their natural State. 'Tis true they are not so nimble as the *English* Cocks, but that Inconvenience being equal on both sides, it is no advantage to either, and the Combatants appear Nobler and more fierce. Some of these Cocks have greatly enrich'd their Masters.

There are very fierce Beasts in this Island, such as the *Rhinoceros* and *Tyger*: These last are of a prodigious bigness.

[1] In orig.: "comme les Athlètes ont accoûtumé de se débarasser de leurs habits pour être plus agiles," omitted by translator.

For Wolves they are altogether unknown in this Country, as well as Foxes.

There are abundance of Deer and Apes of all kinds. *Crocodiles* are extreamly dreaded here, insomuch that the *Company* give thirty *Florins* for every one that is kill'd; some have been seen of twenty or thirty foot long: The common Opinion in this Country, as it has always been among the Naturalists is, that this Animal grows as long as he lives, which nevertheless seems a Fable. I omit other Stories that are told of this Creature; even a Musket-ball can't enter its Back, you must shoot at its Belly. He is very swift in running, and when you are pursu'd by him you must fly dodging, because his Body being very long, and not at all flexible, must have time to turn, when you may gain Ground and get easily from him: He is a great lover of Dog's-flesh, and as 'tis said, no less greedy of Man's, but care is taken he seldom meets with the last. These Creatures are sometimes taken with a large Hook, fasten'd to the end of a Chain, and baited with a piece of Dog's or Sheep's Flesh. I have seen one taken in a Net at Sea, about half a Mile[1] from *Batavia*: He was thirty[2] foot long. His flesh was white, and smelt a little Mustish[3]: It is wholsom enough to eat. Some Persons who liv'd a long time at *Batavia* assur'd me there is a sort of *Crocodile* which is a particular Enemy to the Poultry. These Animals live for the most part in the Sea, or in the disemboguing of Rivers: There are likewise Serpents in this Island. One day as the Sieur *de la Case* was hunting in a Wood near *Batavia*, he perceiv'd one coming down from a Tree hissing: It was as large as his Arm, and seven or eight foot long. As this Serpent approach'd, and began to come furiously at him, he killed him with a Fusee.[4] He had a

[1] In orig.: "à cinq cens pas."
[2] In orig.: "treize."
[3] In orig.: "un peu musquée."
[4] In orig.: "d'un coup de fusil."

sort of Hood upon his Head, much like that mention'd by Monsieur *Tavernier*. M. *de la Case* was so terribly frightened at this Serpent, and dreaded so much to meet with another of them, that he did not mind looking after the Stone they say they have under their Hoods, which is an admirable Antidote.[1] There are another sort of Serpents, which are at least fifty Foot long. They preserve at *Batavia* the Skin of one that devour'd a young Girl, and which was not above twenty foot long.

Whilst I am upon this Article of Animals in *Java*, I shall speak something concerning an extraordinary Ape, which I my self have often seen on the Point of the Bastion call'd *Saphire*, where she had a little house. It was a Female, very tall, and who walk'd upright on its hind-Legs. It conceal'd the Parts that distinguishes the Sexes, by one of its Hands, which was neither hairy without nor within. Its Face had no other Hair upon it than the Eye-brows, and in general it much resembled one of those *Grotesque* Faces which the Female *Hottentots* have at the *Cape*. It made its Bed neatly every Day, went into it, laid its Head upon a Pillow, and cover'd its self with a Coverlet, after the manner practis'd

[1] "The Serpent-stone, which is about the Bigness of a Double, is almost Oval, thick in the Middle and thin about the Sides; the *Indians* say 'tis bred in the Head of certain Serpents, but 'tis more probable, 'tis a Composition of certain Drugs, because they are to be had of the *Bramines* only; but however it be, it is of excellent Virtue to drive away venom from such as are bitten by venomous beasts; for being laid to the Wound, 'twill not come off till it has drawn out all the Poison, and being steep'd in Women's or Cows' Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone called the Serpent-Stone with the Hood, because that kind of Serpent has a Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this Stone is found. It is many times as big as a Pullet's Egg, but it is not found in any less than 2 foot long. . . . This Stone being rubb'd against another Stone yields a Slime, which being drunk in Water by the Person that is poison'd powerfully expels the Venom. These Serpents are found only on the Coasts of *Melinda*, but the Stones are bought of the Portuguese Mariners and Soldiers that come from Mozambique." (Tavernier, *Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 375.)

among us. When it had the Head-Ach it bound its Head with a Clout, and 'twas pleasant to see it so coif'd a-bed. I could tell you several other odd Stories of this Animal which seem'd extreamly singular, but as I could not admire them so much as others did, because I knew she was to be sent to *Europe*, and for that reason might have been taught all these Tricks,[1] I did not deduce the same Consequences from them: In a word, this Ape died at last off the Cape of *Good Hope*, in one of the Ships belonging to the Fleet I was in. This Creature had much of a Human Figure, and, as 'tis said, was of a particular Species of Apes, to be found only in the Island of *Java*, but all were not of this Opinion,[2] and some believ'd this Beast was begot between an Ape and a Woman. When any Female Slave has committed a great Fault, and has reason to apprehend being severely chastiz'd for it, after the Custom of the Country, she commonly flies to the Woods as a frighted Beast, and lives there much like one. And Nature, who does not oppose the Copulation of Horses with Asses, may well admit that of an Ape with a Female-Animal that resembles him, especially where the latter is not restrain'd by any Principle. An Ape and a *Negro*-Slave born and brought up out of the knowledge of God, have not less Similitude between them than an Ass and a Mare.[3]

[1] In orig.: "que le peuple regardoit comme lui étant naturelles: à la vérité, c'était une supposition," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "Mais il y avoit peu de gens de ce sentiment, & l'opinion commune étoit que cette bête."

[3] A similar experience is related by an officer in the British East India Company's service in 1747: "There is an animal here which I had the curiosity to view very attentively. It resembled the human form much more than any creature I had ever seen. It was young, had a melancholy look, the face almost bare, but the head, eyebrows, and chin very rough. It made little noise, showed great fondness in grasping me around and squeezing me; and sometimes made a low, pensive sound as if whining and crying. It walked upright with great ease, and was about three feet and a half high. It had no tail, and was very often found in the woods. Some people not considering in the scale of being what an almost imperceptible gradation is constantly observed between

I shall add to the figure of this Ape that of a small *Lizard* in the Isle of *Gilolo*,[1] which one of my Friends drew according to the natural Bigness, and presented to me. This pretty little Animal has the Bill and Feet of a Bird: Its Head is of a lightish green, its Back of a brownish red, and its Belly Limon-colour spotted with Violet-blue. Its Tail has marks like Rings round it: It is a lively Creature, and very swift: It catches and greedily devours Flies. This is the Account that has been given me of this Animal.

Batavia, including the City and Suburbs, is inhabited by divers Nations, viz., *Dutch*, *French*, *Germans*, *Portugueses*, *Javans*, *Chineses*, and *Moors*. The Languages most in use are *Dutch*, *Malay*, *Portuguese*, and *Chinese*.[2]

one species of animal and that which is next to it, and struck with the near resemblance of this creature to the human kind, both in form and sagacity, have accounted for its production in the following manner: that the cruelty of the Dutch to their Malayan female slaves often obliged them to fly into the woods to escape the cruelty of their tyrannical masters; and being forced to live there solitarily, it was thought that they might by length of time turn mad or insensibly brutish, and might have yielded to an unnatural commerce with some animals in the woods, by which this strange animal was produced." (*A Voyage to the East Indies in* 1747-48, p. 62. London, 1752.)

[1] "Gillolo Island, partly tributary to Ternate and partly to Tidore, is of considerable extent and well inhabited. Oxen, buffaloes, goats, deer, and wild hogs abound in this island, but sheep are very few. The sago and bread-fruit trees flourish here in great abundance. Ossa town, situated on the south side of the great bay of that name, in lat. 0° 45′ N., long. 128° 22′ E., affords every convenience for ships touching here, either for water, provisions, timber for spars, or other necessary articles. There are several villages in this bay, but that of Golonasy was destroyed by the Dutch, on the 25th January, 1808." (Thorn, *l. c.*, 348.)

The lizard described by Leguat is probably intended for the *Tachydromus sexlineatus*, not solely confined to this island, but found throughout the neighbouring Archipelago, Malaya, and China.

[2] "The population of Batavia", according to Major Thorn, in 1811, "is divided into the following classes. Next to the Dutch burghers, come the Portuguese or half-castes, and other Indian Christians; next to them are the Papangars or Mardykears, who are emancipated slaves; the Moors and Arabs. The other classes are distinguished into the

The *Company* is as it were Absolute in this Island, a great number of petty Sovereigns reigning there under their Protection: Nay, the Emperor of *Japar*, who is by far the most Potent of any of them, cannot be said to be entire Sovereign of his Country, since the *Hollanders* have divers Forts and Garrisons in it. As for the Natives of those Provinces that retain their antient Dominion they are so great Slaves that they choose rather to obey the *Hollanders*, who treat them more courteously and politickly than their own Princes.[1]

The General[2] of this *Company* is in effect King, tho' he has

Javanese, the Baliers, Bougginese or Buggese, Macassars, Amboynese, Boutonneers or Madurese, Malays, Sambawaurese, and the Parnakan Chinese; these last are the most numerous and most useful of all the foreign adventurers settled in Java." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 239.)

The entire population of the island of Java was estimated by Major Thorn, in 1811 (p. 232), at five millions; of which the European colonists formed comparatively a small number. "The burgher class comprehends what is called the Dutch population at Batavia, but they can hardly be termed Europeans, so completely are they intermixed with the Portuguese and Malay colonists."

"Few of the Batavian women", remarked Thorn, "were Europeans by birth: their features and the contour of their faces may, indeed, indicate that origin, but their complexion, character, and mode of life approach nearest to those of the natives. Though fair, they have none of that rosy tint which distinguishes the sex in Europe; but a pale, sickly languor overspreads their countenances." (*Ibid.*)

[1] "The island of Java had been anciently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes styled by the Dutch simply emperor, and at others King of Japara, from whom the Governor of Bantam revolted, assumed the title of king, and was supported in this quality of an independent prince by the Dutch. It was by a dexterous management of these divisions that they maintained their own power; for whenever the Emperor of Java attempted anything to the prejudice of Batavia, the King of Bantam was sure to take arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the King of Bantam took the field against them, they never failed to have recourse to the Emperor of Java." (*The Modern Part of an Universal History*, vol. ix, p. 3.)

[2] In orig.: "Le Général de cette Compagnie, est un *Roi* qu'on n'appelle pas *Roi*, mais Général: car *Roi* est un mot, & *Général* en est un autre, comme *Duc*, *Doge*, *Prince*, &c. Tout ces Hommes là sont des

not that Title. He Governs with more or less Authority, according as the People have conferr'd on him more or less Power. The General of *Batavia*, King or Viceroy,[1] or what you please to call him, is chosen by the *Company* by plurality of Voices, and tho' his Power be subject to be revok'd by his Electors, in like manner as the Emperor of *Germany's* is, yet he generally enjoys his Office for Life[2]:

Chefs qui gouvernent avec plus ou moins d'autorité, selon que les Peuple leur en ont plus ou moins conferé, ou que les Chefs en ont plus ou moins usurpé. Et il y a une difference moins essentielle, dans le fait, entre le Duc de *Savoye*, par example, & le Roi de *Portugal*, qu'il n'y en a entre le Roi de *France* & le Roi de *Pologne*, quoique ces deux derniers portent le même nom de Roi, mais revenons à nos moutons." Evidently this is an interpolation of Misson's writing.

The Gouverneur-General van Nederlands Indien at this period was Heer Willem van Outhoorn, whose portrait is engraved in the folios of Valentyn, from the picture in the Great Hall, at Batavia. He was at the head of affairs from 1691 to 1704.

"The authority of the Governor-General is almost unbounded; and although he is obliged to give cognizance to the Council and consult them on some matters, he possesses a most arbitrary and independent power in all. . . . . His Excellency usually resides at his country-seat, called *Weltevreeden*, about an hour and a quarter's walk from Batavia, and which is a superb mansion. When the Governor rides out he is always accompanied by some of his horse-guards. An officer and two trumpeters precede his approach, and every person who meets him, and happens to be in a carriage, must stop and step out of it till he has rode by. A company of dragoons always mount guard at *Weltevreeden*. He has besides some halberdiers, who are employed in carrying messages and commands, and who always are attendant on the Governor's person wherever he goes. They are dressed in short coats of scarlet cloth richly laced with gold, and follow in rank upon the junior ensign in the Company's service. . . . . His lady receives the same honours, and is equally escorted by a party of horse-guards when she rides out." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 278 *et seq.*)

[1] In orig.: "Viceroi ou si l'on veut *Vice-République*."

[2] In orig.: "D'un Côté, la Politique raisonable veut qu'il soit révocable ou déposable, de peur qu'il ne s'émancipe selon les démangeaisons ordinaires de ceux qui ont un grand pouvoir: & d'un autre côté aussi, cette même bonne politique veut qu'on le laisse dans son emploi, aussi longtemps qu'il est possible: parce que comme il ne rend aucun compte, & qu'il a de grands moyens de remplir ses coffres, il y a moins d'incon-

He has a King's Table and Train. His Coach, which is always drawn by six Horses, is preceded by a Company of Horse-Guards with Trumpets, and follow'd by one of Foot, which are often oblig'd to run. Before and on each side the Halberdiers attend and follow very close, and these Guards are no less spruce and finely set out than the Royal Swisses. When I am speaking of Coaches[1] I must tell you, by-the-by that altho' they have Horses here in plenty enough, yet their Coach-Horses generally come from *Persia:* They are smaller than ours, and very strait before, yet of incredible Swiftness and Spirit. The General's Lady's train is not altogether so Magnificent as that of her Husband, yet she has likewise her Halberdiers, and makes a very fine Figure.

Here it would be proper to speak something of the other great Officers, and the different Courts of Justice, but I understand it has been already done, and therefore shall omit it.

Of all Nations that are settled at *Batavia* the *Europeans* are the Richest[2]: Coaches are very common, and exceeding fine. The Houses, as well of the City as the Suburbs, and even those in the Country, are at present large and well built, and most of them exceeding finely furnish'd. The Gardens are adorn'd with Canals, Arbours, Parterres, etc., and filled with all sorts of Flowers and the best Fruits of that Country.

venient a n'enrichir qu'un homme, qu'à en enrichir plusieurs," omitted by translator, and evidently another interpolation.

[1] "The coaches used at Batavia are small and light. No one is restrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with respect to its decoration and painting. These are scrupulously regulated according to the respective ranks. Glass windows to coaches are alone allowed to the members of the Government, who have also the privilege of painting or gilding their carriage agreeable to their own taste." (*Ibid.*, p. 323.)

[2] In orig.: "& même, il y en a qui font, comme on dit, *Stores*," omitted by translator.

In general I may say the Women[1] are extreamly lazy here. for as they enjoy great Plenty, and by a sort of Custom are become more Mistresses than any where else, they mind nothing but their Pleasures, and are moreover so haughty and revengeful that it is dangerous to offend them.

When the *Company* first establish'd themselves here, the Women were so scarce that even the Principal Officers were obliged to marry *Indians*, which no doubt has been the occasion of the Pride of that Sex in this Country. At present there is great plenty of them; they have multiply'd exceedingly, and considering that many arrive frequently from foreign Parts there are more than sufficient for such as require but a moderate use of them. As they not only suffer no Beggars here, but considerably relieve such as fall under any Necessity, the poorest of all the Women has when she goes abroad at least one Slave that carries an Umbrello over her *Head*.[2] 'Tis the same with the Men, except those that belong to the Troops, and are above the quality of an

[1] "Most of the white women who are seen at Batavia are born in the Indies. . . . These are either the offspring of European mothers or Oriental female slaves, who having first been mistresses to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and been converted to Christianity. . . . Children born in the Indies are nicknamed *liplaps* by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe." (*Ibid.*, p. 315.)

"They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper; but this ought chiefly to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of both sexes that they always have to wait upon them." (P. 317.)

"In common with most of the women in India, they cherish a most excessive jealousy of their husbands and of their female slaves. If they discover the smallest familiarity between them, they set no bounds to their thirst of revenge against these poor bondswomen, who in most cases have not dared to resist the will of their masters for fear of ill treatment." (P. 319.)

[2] "When they go out on foot they are attended by a slave who carries a sunshade (called here *sambreel* or *payang*) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant may not have a slave behind him, but must carry a small sunshade himself." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, p. 314.)

Ensign. The Soldiers being for the most part Insolent, and the *Company* desirous that all their *Colonies* should enjoy an entire Liberty, thought fit to bridle those that carry'd Arms and reduce them to a state of Humility; so that upon this occasion a Cobler, for example, may have a Slave to carry an *Umbrello* over his Head, whereas an Ensign of the Garrison is not allowed the same Privilege.

The *Europeans* do not make the hundredth part of the Inhabitants. Next to them the *Chineses*[1] are the Richest, and make the greatest Figure: Altho' the Pictures we have from *China*, and the Relations are given us of that Country, always represent the Inhabitants Tawny and large Visag'd, with flat Noses, and little Eyes, yet I can assure you I have observ'd no such thing of that People at *Batavia*, where there are above ten thousand of them setled, and many more that come from time to time occasionally from *China* to Trade.

Generally speaking, those People are all as white[2] as the *Europeans*, and have Faces of the same form. This is what

[1] "The number of Chinese inhabitants at Batavia alone exceeds (in 1811) a hundred thousand. There were also many dispersed throughout the island, in the interior as well as along the coast. . . . Without them, indeed, the island of Java would be an unprofitable colony, as in their hands are all the manufactories, distilleries, and potteries. They are also the principal traders, smiths, carpenters, stonemasons, shoemakers, shopkeepers, butchers, fishmongers, greengrocers, and, in fact, the whole retail trade of Java is in their hands."

"The Chinese Company at Batavia comprizes the whole of the South-Western suburbs, and is very extensive. Every house is a shop, and the streets being constantly crowded, exhibit a constant scene of noise and bustle." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 243.)

[2] "The Chinese in Java are very fair. They dress in long silk gauze gowns and loose pantaloons, generally white, black, or blue, with cotton stockings and high raised shoes or boots; a small black cap is fitted to their heads, which are shaven, except on the back part, where is a small tuft, having attached to it an enormous long tail, for which they pay a tax; so that by this capitation impost, the number of Chinese in the island can be pretty correctly ascertained." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 244.)

I have seen and observ'd a hundred times, in spite of my former Prejudice: 'Tis computed there are forty Thousand[1] *Chineses* in the whole Island. They pay a Crown a Head *per* Month as a Tribute to the *Company*, and those who have a mind to wear one or more Gold Bodkins in their Hair, pay moreover a Crown for each Bodkin. Policy obliges the *Company* to afford them divers Honours, and to grant them great Privileges. They have a Head who has a place in the Council, and a right to Vote, where any Person of their Nation is to be try'd for his Life: And 'tis not without great reason they are thus distinguish'd, since without them the City of *Batavia* would not be worth half what it is. They are not less Laborious, Industrious, and adroit[2] in Commerce, than ingenious, and of a prudent and peaceable Temper. They observe much upright Dealing among themselves, but play tricks with Strangers, and cheat them without scruple whenever it lies in their way. They Game exceedingly, and do it with so equal a Countenance that you can't tell when they win and when they lose. The good understanding they have with one another, can never be enough commended nor admir'd: They look upon each other as Brothers, and never suffer any Quarrels or Differences that may arise between them to last long. Mediators soon interpose, and all Matters are quickly reconcil'd. Where any one happens to lose what he has by Shipwreck, or other

[1] "The number of the Chinese, who live both within and without the walls of the city, cannot be determined with precision; but it must be very considerable, as the Company receive a poll-tax from them of more than forty thousand rix dollars. Every Chinese who has a profession is obliged to pay a monthly poll-tax of half a ducatoon" (a ducatoon = six shillings). (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 268.)

[2] "Like the Jews in Europe, they are very cunning in trade, both in the largest dealings and in the most trifling pedlery. They are so desirous of money, that a Chinese will run three times from one end of the city to the other, if he have but the prospect of gaining one penny. In doing any business with them, the greatest care must be taken, to avoid being cheated." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 268.)

Accident, an Assessment is immediately laid according to each Man's Ability, in order to restore the unfortunate Person to his former Condition.

The charitable and speedy manner with which these People relieve each other when in Want, insomuch that there is neither a Beggar, nor a dissatisfy'd Person among them, has somewhat so surprizing and astonishing in it, that we must own it is a Reproach to the greatest part of us Christians. And as the Principles of the *Chineses* concerning this sort of Charity are very near those of *Moses*,[1] according to whose Laws there was to be no needy Person in *Israel*, and the same likewise that are establish'd, and so often repeated in the *Gospel*, I thought I could not any ways disoblige the Reader if I gave him an Extract of some Sentences out of the Book entituled The *Golden Book*, or the *Golden Sentences of Hoangti-Xao*, one of the LXXII most excellent Disciples.

It is their celebrated *Confucius* whom they commonly stile the *Sage King of Letters*, and they say he had LXXII principal Disciples, of which number was *Hoangti-Xao*.[2]

The *Golden Book*[3] contains Political and Moral Maxims, which having for the most part coherence with one another not unlike that Book of *Solomon*, which it has pleas'd our

[1] Deut. xv.

[2] "It is true that among the multitude of Confucius's disciples seventy-two are enumerated as 'scholars of extraordinary ability'; but there was no Hoangti-Xao among them. At the earliest periods of Chinese history there are placed two sages, Hoang-ti (B.C. 2697), and Yâo (B.C. 2357); and if we were to read after 'disciples', 'and his doctrines were those of Hoang-ti and Yâo', the statement would be correct." (*J. Legge.*)

[3] "The *Golden Book* and *Golden Sentences of Hoangti-Xao* are also coinages of Leguat's own. You illustrate the 'sentences' by quotations from the writings of Chuang Tsze; and this has made me think that Hoang-ti Xao may be misprints for Chuang Tze and Sâo; but then Chuang Tsze and Sâo were neither of them disciples of Confucius, but the chief writers of the school antagonistic to his." (*J. Legge.*)

Translators to give the name of *Proverbs* to, instead of that of *Sentences*.

As the Emperors of *China*, as well as the other Eastern Monarchs, have made themselves absolute over their People, from whom they have extorted a kind of Adoration, the *Sages* have sometimes artfully oppos'd so pernicious a Doctrine, and so contrary to Justice and Reason. The Author of these *Golden Sentences* not only fulminates against Tyrants,[1] who imagining themselves form'd of other Matter than the rest of Mankind, look upon them as Reptiles, whom they may either spare or destroy, but also against all Governors in general, whatever Titles they bear, providing they do not at the hazard of their Lives, if occasion be, maintain, defend, and make their subjects happy. He says, that the first thing a Prince ought to do upon his ascending the Throne, should be to inform himself diligently of the Condition of his People, to the end he may be ready to relieve them upon Necessity. He ranks Generosity, with Prudence and Courage, among the Chiefest Virtues,[2] that ought to adorn a

[1] In the divine classic of Nan-Hua, written by Chuang Tsze, the Taoist philosopher, fourth century B.C.: "The men who were princes over the empire in the days of yore remained perfectly inactive, caring for nothing but heavenly virtue. Speaking of nothing but Nature, the princes of the empire were upright. Fulfilling their duties by the aid of Nture, the virtue of both princes and ministers became illustrious. . . . . It is by Nature that all created things progress. . . . . Virtue embraces Nature; and Nature embraces Heaven. . . . . The world was prosperous in all respects . . . . the people were settled in tranquillity." (*The Nan-Hua of Chuang-Tsze, Hearen and Earth*, by F. H. Balfour, p. 135.)

"Chuang Tsze was the contemporary of Mencius. It is towards the trivialities of life that his keen satire is principally directed. He is the hero of the celebrated story in Sir John Davis's work on China, known as the 'Philosopher and his Wife'." (*Ibid.*, Pref. by F. H. Balfour, 1881.)

"Chuang Tzŭ, a most original thinker, whose writings are tabooed as heterodox, an advanced exponent of the doctrines of Lao Tzŭ." (Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature*, p. 19.)

[2] In orig.: "Il met la *Liberalité*, avec la *Prudence*, & le *Courage*, au

generous Breast, inasmuch as the immense Sums which are brought from the Provinces into his Coffers, are only deposited there, that he may distribute them according to the occasions both of publick and private persons.

"Remember," says he in one Place, "O *Xantung!* That the chief and fundamental Law of all is, that every one should live, and if possible, live happy. . . .

"Remember that the Privilege of every Creature which has receiv'd the Gifts of Life from the high and adorable Creator, is, That they should enjoy all that good and wise Nature has produc'd, that is beneficial for them both above and below the Moon. . . .

"Remember that the sole great and adorable Power has made every good thing for us all, to sustain and divert every living Soul. . . .

"Why, then, O *Xantung!* Hast thou reserv'd Peacocks and Sturgeon for thy self, whilst poor *Keu-Han*, a very good man, tho' born of Parents as poor as himself, is sometimes reduc'd to browze on the Mountains with wild Goats? Is it that you believe that good Venison, good Fruit, and good Fish, were made only for you, and by no means for him? Why, I beseech you, do not you likewise appropriate to yourself all the Salubrious Air that blesses the Coasts of *Honan*, to the end the unhappy may not be permitted to breath it, till such time as it has refresh'd the Lobes of your Lungs, by which you seem to desire that these poor People should subsist only upon your Excrements? And why, again, have not you shut up the fair and vivifying Sun within the Walls of your Park or Palace for your sole use, not suffering the vile Populace, whose Blood is not of the same colour with yours, to have any other Light than the faint glimmerings of a lesser Planet? I know it, O *Xantung!*

premier rang des vertus de celui qui a été élevé à l'*office* de *Gouverneur*; par le raison que de grandes sommes d'argent ne sont aportées de toutes les Provinces, dans les cofres de ce *Haut-Officier*, que pour l'en faire le Distributeur, selon les besoins publics & particuliers."

Why hast not thou made all these things? It was because it was altogether out of thy Power. Thy long Hands have prov'd too short for that Work. Thou seizest bravely all that is within thy reach, and generously leav'st that which is too high for thee to arrive at. . . . *Keu-Han* is both hungry and cold; he has neither Money, Employment, nor Health: All reject him, all abandon him. Tell me, thou that art at the Helm of the Government, Thou whose Duty it is to take care of the People, and that art paid for it to boot, why dost not thou, I say, make hast to relieve him? . . . . Prisons abound with such wretches as he; both they and their Fathers have been render'd poor and miserable, either by publick or private Tyranny. They suffer, they languish, they faint; their Wives and their Children are in Despair; why delayst thou, then, Governor of thy People, to deliver these afflicted Creatures? . . . . . *Keu-Han,* thus reduc'd to Extremity, yielded to a natural Temptation, rather than die with Hunger; To free himself from it, he took a Loaf of a Baker, and you have thus rigorously punish'd him for it.[1] But you have committed a Double Sin, you who bear the fine Title of Father of your Country. You have not relieved the wretched ready to drop into the Ground, but have us'd him without all Manner of Mercy. . . .

"Make so good Laws, that nobody may be in danger of perishing with Hunger, and then freely execute severely the other Laws against all Usurpers. . . . . But what is this Hunger and Want? You know nothing of it, you that roul in Delight and Abundance, and you believe, doubtless, that he alone is miserable who appears to you to be famish'd and starv'd with Cold. You may nevertheless believe likewise that a poor Nourishment not extraordinary good, and the want of Relief in great Necessity, weaken the Poor Man, sadden his Soul, make him cruelly languish, and lead him

[1] "If a man steals some trinket, he suffers death for the crime; but if he steals a kingdom, he becomes a feudal prince." (Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 113.)

slowly to his Grave. . . . Wicked Governors! You are oftentimes guilty of the Sins of the Poor, as you are the occasion of their Misfortunes. . . .[1]

"There is a necessary Coherence and Dependance between certain Laws. As one is, so you must suppose the other to be, and that one cannot subsist unless the other be maintain'd. Now, the Law which forbids anyone to appropriate to himself what belongs to another Man is founded upon another Law, according to which no Man is to perish by unhappy Poverty. . . ."

"High and Mighty Lords!" says elsewhere this Chinese Philosopher, "inexorable and Fleshly-minded Robbers! Obstinate and insatiable Blood-suckers! High and mighty Thieves that you are, who haughtily seize upon what does not belong to you, but to others! Or who do not restore that which your Ancestors have usurp'd without Pity or Justice! By what Law of Nature or Equity, think you, all belongs to you, and nothing to anybody else? . . . . . You are at present applauded, most illustrious Wretches, and the good Men whom you, or the Villains whose Heirs you are, have robb'd, fall now prostrate to the Ground when you pass by with your gilded *Palanquin*. But soon your worthless Souls shall be of no other use than to swell the backs of Toads,[2] and the poor Man, who is of much greater worth tho' at present oppress'd, shall crush you to pieces. . . .

"Whether it be that thy Rapins, or those of thy Fathers, have enrich'd thee, O *Ti-Fa!* (for of a thousand rich Men there is hardly one that is not either wicked himself or an Heir to one that was so), whether it may be thy good Fortune or thy Industry have heap'd on thee Gold and

[1] "All this is something like passages in Chuang Tsze's writings; but I cannot identify Xantung or Keu-Han with any names to be found or likely to be found in him. The fact is Leguat was writing about what he knew very little about, and wrote therefore loosely and incorrectly." (*J. Legge.*)

[2] This indicates a belief in the doctrine of the metempsychosis.

Pearls, know that thy Abundance does not belong to thee alone, and that the rich Man, he, I mean, that is lawfully so, becomes a Thief when he suffers the poor Man to want. . . . Oh, how great is my Concern, when I contemplate that lofty and rich Mountain of *Kcuangsi*, which fronts the Cell whither I am retir'd! That excellent part of the Terrestrial Globe is all cover'd with fine Pastures, Golden Wheat-Ears, Flax, Ginger, Cedars, and Aromatick Plants, in the middle of which the finest and best tasted Birds make their Nests. The perfum'd Civet-Cats run about in great numbers, together with the swift wild Goats, and the bounding Roe-Bucks: Nay, the Entrails of this wonderful Mountain enrich the West with Rubys, Amethysts, and Saphires. But who is it that is in possession of this fine little World? Alass! Three hundred Families that were formerly dispers'd throughout it, divided it between them, till the Noble High-way-man, *Xao-ti-cao*, under pretexts that easily corresponded with his Rapaciousness, found means, to his Glory be it spoken, to reunite to his ancient Demesns, eighteen or twenty of these poor Inheritances. *Ye-vam*, his Son, seiz'd upon thirty more, and, in the space of sixty years, the sad Remains of these three hundred ruin'd, outed, vagabond, and unfortunate Families, saw this Mountain entirely in the possession of *Ti-Hohai*, who, for reasons of State and Avarice, has swallow'd up all.[1]

"What use does the Illustrious *Ti-Hohai* make of all these Riches? He entertains Magnificently his Dogs, his Concubines, and his Friends. He lavishes exceedingly, he is prodigal without Consideration, towards certain Rascals that are continually about him, and all this without hearkening to either the cries of the Poor, the just demands of his Creditors, or the wants of good Men. *Ti-Hohai* has a great Soul; he hates all sorts of Baseness, and pillages only like a great Lord. . . .

[1] "A petty thief is clapped in jail; a big robber becomes a feudal prince." (The *Nan Hua*, *op. cit.*)

"O fertil and delicious Mountain! My Eyes cannot look towards thee without shedding Tears. But whither shall I then carry them, these Eyes where you may see Wonder painted with Grief? See on the other side the vast and gay Plain of *Ocomsiao*, of which an agreeable winding of the River *Hoang* makes a Peninsula, which is likewise the Prey to a most Noble Lord, the Lord *Kiumfa*, who, altogether opposite to the generous squanderer *Ti-Hohai*, digs Gold out of the Mines of *Sighem*, for no other Reason but to raise new ones in his Coffers of Iron: See the frightful Carcasses that drag along his old dislocated Chariot. See him himself, with his mean Aspect and frighted Air, as if the pitiless *Tartar* was ready to seize on his Treasure. The Noble *Kiumfa* has, in a word, totally possess'd himself within these five years of the excellent Country of *Ocomsiao*, and the Fatal Executioner has already expos'd divers unhappy Wretches to the Crows, who, having been despoil'd of all they had by the Conqueror, dar'd, in their extream Necessity, to resume but a small Portion of what had been taken from them.

"Shall I mount to the top of *Vigean*, or transport myself to the forked Brow of *Canghchu*? And shall I from thence contemplate the rich Provinces that extend themselves even to the Sea? But I shall everywhere meet with the like Conquests. . . . . Thou art too small, O universal Earth! To satisfie the boundless Desires of one proud Mad-Man. . . .

"The Philosopher *Vemam-Xilin*, remov'd from cruel and pressing Necessity, would pass a retir'd Life in Tranquillity, would willingly cultivate some agreeable Garden to breath the fresh Air, under the shade of a Fig-Tree that he himself had planted, and to hear at certain times the sweet and innocent Notes of the harmonious Nightingale. He would willingly adorn this little Paradise with some borders of Flowers, raise a Hive of Bees there, and turn in some clear Spring that might serve him to bath in, and, in Recom-

pence, he would never destroy the Fish that Nature had plac'd there. . . .

"Tir'd with the vanities of the World, which he had sufficiently experienc'd, and pleas'd with this solitary Grot, he might go and divert his fatigu'd Imaginations in the different Paths in this little Enclosure, and there repair the loss of his Spirits wasted by Study, and so make himself amends for the Misfortunes of this Life. Full of Contempt for the mad multitude which runs blindly after Chimera's, he might happily enjoy there some new and profitable Delights. But the Earth is all invaded; all is seiz'd. The Great are already in possession of it, and there remains no corner for him. He must buy that dear which is shortly to serve him for a Grave. . . ."

Thus the Author of the *Golden Sentences*, abandoning himself to the fury of his Thoughts, which are, he says, Oracles of Confucius, who delivers himself oftentimes like an Orator of that Country, rather than either a Lawyer or a Politician.

Nay, these Maxims have seem'd to his Country-men so just and well-grounded, that on one hand Terror and Custom, two Terrible Tyrants, has made them Slaves and Idolizers of their Kings; on the other, the Lessons of their wise Men, which they have well conceiv'd and digested, has inclin'd them to relieve the distress'd, insomuch that there is not a poor Man, as I have already observ'd, to be found amongst them.

To return to what I was saying of the poor *Chineses*, I must likewise Remark, that there are no Beggars neither at *Batavia* among the *Europeans*. It may be, Emulation, in Conjunction with natural Justice and Policy, has contributed to the establishing of this good Order among the *Portugueses*; for, as for the *Hollanders*, everyone knows that even in *Holland* itself, and all the Provinces belonging to that wise and powerful Republick, all such as are able to Work are furnish'd with such proper Means that no one can say with Justice that he has been forc'd to beg his Bread.

The *Chineses* live very well, and eat neatly, altho' without either Napkin or Table-Cloath: They do not take the Meat between their Fingers, but, as it is serv'd up all cut to pieces, they carry it to their Mouths with two gilded Sticks about five or six Inches long.

They wear long Gowns very light, and for the most part white, with large Breeches that reach even to their Ancles. They make great account of their Hair, which is exceeding long, and which they always suffer to grow. They wreath it in Tresses, and twist it round behind their Heads, fastening it with Bodkins, as I have before mention'd. I can't remember I've ever seen any fair Hair here; but it must not be concluded from thence that the People are Tawny, for, if I must repeat it once more, they are generally as fair as we are.

They have little Beards, and esteem them so that they never shave them. Nay, they have no less value for those of others, for if any Person has a mind to run the risque either of his Beard or his Hair, he may wager it against a considerable Sum, and being won, it is kept as a precious Treasure by him that won it; and, on the contrary, he that lost it becomes so infamous that no body cares to deal with him any more. They carry a great Fan in their Hands which they cover their Heads with from time to time, instead of an Umbrella, which the *Europeans* only make use of.

When they Salute one another, they present themselves with their Fists clinch'd, and, afterwards embracing each other, toss up one of their Hands as the People do in *England*.

They Trade in their Country, and particularly bring from thence Tea and Porcelain. Those among them whom I shall call Strangers, that is, who are not as it were Naturaliz'd at *Batavia*, cannot continue there above six Months. These have their Heads all shav'd after the new mode of

their Country, except a Lock which they reserve in the middle, and which hangs down behind. The *Tartar* who at present reigns over this Nation impos'd this Law upon them, being what is practis'd in his Country by his natural Subjects, but which serves the *Chineses* for a badge of Slavery.

These People in general have somewhat Noble and Magnificent in them, what-ever they do. When any *Chinese* betroths himself at Batavia, after the Contract is sign'd, he at Night goes to visit his Mistriss in a Magnificent Chair carry'd by four Men, and preceded by three or four hundred others, either *Javans* hir'd for that purpose, or *Negro* Slaves, each of them bearing Light at the end of a Stick. 'Tis true this Light or Lanthorn answers little to the Splendor of the rest, being only a Hog's Bladder upon a Pole, with a piece of Wax-Candle in it. The Chair is immediately follow'd by a great Number of that Country Musicians, who make between them a very odd sort of Harmony.

The Priests come after on Horse-back with long Violet-colour'd Robes, and square Bonnets, about which march on all sides before and behind, a great number of the Bridegroom's Friends, who incessantly throw up into the Air Fire-works, which represent divers sorts of Animals. The Gallant goes to visit his Mistriss with this Equipage, and returns after the same manner. When they walk together the same Pomp is observ'd, and even when they go to be marry'd, with this difference only, that the Woman is carry'd in such a Chair that she can see whatever is done without being seen her self. When the Marriage Ceremony is ended, the Men dine together in Publick, but the Women are in another Chamber by themselves, whither the Men never come. The Tables of both Chambers are so order'd that the two marry'd People may sit that Day back to back, a Wall being only between them. At Night the Husband does the honour to his Wife to receive her to his Table, a favour she never afterwards has granted, the Men of this

Nation having that contempt for their Wives that they look upon them to be no better than Slaves, they being like other Eastern Nations extreamly jealous.

There were but three Women born in *China*, at *Batavia* when I was there, so that the *Chineses* were at first oblig'd to marry *Javans*,[1] but their Families have so encreas'd since that now they have enough Daughters for their Sons: These People are exceedingly addicted to that abominable Sin *Sodom*. At first they never endeavour'd to conceal it, and when they were indicted for it, they answer'd it was an innocent Action and what was allow'd them; many of them were nevertheless put to Death for it.

Their Wives and Daughters are Invisible, at least they are never seen, and they never go abroad: I never saw but one during the whole year that I was at *Batavia*, and that was in a House. The Men keep *Javan* and *Negro* Women for Concubines, or make use of them when they meet them, without much Ceremony.

As the Smallness of the Women's Feet is one of their greatest Perfections, and which most charms the Men, so soon as born they put them into Iron Moulds which hinder their Growth, so that when they go to walk they can hardly keep themselves upon their Legs.[2]

For six Months from the first day of the year they feast and make merry, keeping a sort of *Carnaval*, which lasts Day and Night. They then run up Theatres on which their young People act a kind of Comedies, for which they have odd Cloaths made on purpose: Their common subjects are

[1] Thorn writes:—"As no woman is allowed to be exported from China, adventurers from that country intermarry with the Javanese and Malays, or purchase slaves for their concubines and wives." (*L. c.*, p. 243.)

[2] The custom of compressing the feet of female children practised by the Chinese is supposed to have originated in the desire to mark the difference between the nomadic Tartar invaders and the native, patriotic, children of the soil. (Cf. *Gray*, vol. i, p. 233.)

the Lives of Histories of Great Men. At Night during this Representation, they pitch Bamboo's, of forty or fifty foot high, before the Houses of the most considerable of their Nation, to which they affix Fire-works that cost a great deal and last most part of the Night. This is one of the principal of their Diversions. These People are very Industrious, and have a particular Talent for making these Fire-works. Among other things they very naturally represent by them divers sorts of Animals: Disguis'd as I have told you, they run along the Streets and make these Animals, compos'd of Paper and Wild-fire, fly. They have a Feast which they celebrate on the Water in Memory of a certain Woman of their Nation, who drown'd her self, and of whom they tell a fine and long Tale. The chiefest Diversion of this Feast consists in the swift Rowing of several light Boats like the *Gondola's* at *Venice*.[1] Divers of these Boats, equally furnish'd with Rowers, start at the same time on a certain Signal, and they that arrive first at the Goal obtain the Prize.

The Burials[2] of the *Chineses* are perform'd with great Ceremony. When a sick Person is at the point of Death, all his Friends and Relations gather about him, and ask him frankly

[1] Another Venetian allusion, indicating Misson's pen:—"The Dragon Boat Festival, held in memory of Wat-Yuen, a Minister of State, who flourished about 500 B.C., and who drowned himself. A leading feature of this festival is the races which take place between the different crews of long boats made to resemble dragons." (Cf. *China*, by Dr. Gray, vol. i, p. 258.)

[2] "Their burials are the next great pompous exhibitions of the Chinese. These are solemnised agreeably to the rank of the deceased. . . . An immense multitude of Chinese attend on the day of interment, carrying images of men and women, representing the deceased members of the same family, with wax tapers and censers; while a numerous procession of priests, accompanied with musical instruments, precede the corpse, which is carried in a huge coffin, slung on bars, supported on the shoulders of sixteen bearers, in pairs, followed by the relations of the deceased, uttering most piercing lamentations. The cemetery of the Chinese extends over a prodigious deal of ground on the south-east side of Batavia." (*Thorn*, p. 246.)

whither he is going, and why he will leave them? Questions very edifying and much to the purpose! They tell him he need only acquaint them what he wants, and assure him very obligingly he shall immediately have all he can ask.

When he has render'd up his poor Soul to the mercy of his Creator, they lay his Corps in a bed of State, the Richest and most Sumptuous they can get. Some time after he is carry'd on the same Bed to be bury'd, upon the shoulders of twelve Men, in such manner that every body may see him: A great number of People march confusedly before and after the Corps. Immediately next to it go the Priests on Horseback, Habited as I have told you, in long Violet-colour'd Robes, and after them come the hir'd female Mourners cloath'd in White, and walking together under a sort of Linen Tent open a-top. These Mourners or Weepers torment themselves incessantly, and at every step almost passionately demand of the deceas'd Person, Why he would so abandon the World? What he wanted, and why he would not let it be known, since undoubtedly he would have receiv'd satisfaction in all he could ask?

These Foolish questions surpriz'd me less from the Mouths of these People, than they did from the *Irish*[1] Catholicks,

[1] "Of these original *Irish* most of the Persons of Quality understand *English*, and lead a Life totally *unbarbariz'd*; but the common People are half Savages, and differ very little from their Ancestors as described sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago by *Strabo*, *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and the most remote Authors. Their Religion is a kind of Popish-Christian Religion; but the Superstitions and Fooleries of Popery, which they have adopted, are mix'd with such a Number of other Puerilities, that it is impossible to say justly what the Religion of those People is. . . .

". . . When any among them is sick, they never talk to him of anything but his Recovery, and never of God or Salvation; but sometimes the sick Man desires the Communion, and then they look upon it that he despairs of Life: From that Moment they expose him in a publick Place, or upon a great Road; they call every Passenger with loud Cries, and each Man puts a hundred impertinent Questions to the poor dying Person: They ask him, why he will leave this World, which is so very

who inhabit a part of *Ireland*, and make much the same Complaints on these Occasions. 'Tis thus the Body is carry'd to the destin'd place of Sepulchre,[1] which is very near half a League from *Batavia*. They bury some pieces of Silver with the Corps, and every day for a year together carry some Viands, and present them at the Tomb of the Deceas'd, with design to do honour and good to him. It would be dangerous to taste these Viands, since oftentimes they poyson them, in order to revenge the Attempt of such as should presume to carry them away.[2] Unriddle who will the Notions of these poor Wretches, who treat their dearest Friends with the same Poyson they prepare for Thieves.

pleasant? In what Country he thinks he shall find better Entertainment. If he had not a good and a handsome Wife, fine Children, good Relations, good Cows, good Milk, good Butter, and every Thing that could make Life agreeable to him? Then they apostrophize his Soul, which they call cruel and ungrateful for leaving so handsome a Body that has charitably found it such a good Lodging for so many Years. . . . ." (Max Misson's *Memoirs;* Ozell's translation, *op. cit.*)

Compare Dubois (1674), *Relation de l'Isle Dauphine, etc.* Of the Cape-Verdrain he writes (pp. 23, 24): "Quand il meurt quelqu'un d'eux qui a de quoy, ils vont pleurer le mort, & luy demandent pourquoy il les a quittez, & s'il luy manquoit quelque chose, luy font une infinité d'autres discours pareils." (See also *Histoire des Antilles*, p. 512.)

[1] "The Chinese allot a separate sepulchre for each corpse, over which is raised a high circular mound of earth, like a crescent, cased with stone, and ornamented according to the wealth and importance of the deceased. To these receptacles of the dust of their ancestors the Chinese pay, as a sacred duty, an annual visit, which mournful ceremony takes place in the month of April. Stages are then erected in various parts for the priests, who deliver from them orations in praise of the dead there deposited; and the neighbourhood of ancient Jacatra, over which their principal cemetery extends, exhibits an affecting spectacle, of multitudes of people, prostrate before the numerous tombs, which are decorated with flowers, spreading viands and fruits as an offering, and bowing their heads in sorrow to the ground." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 246.)

[2] Stavorinus writes (vol. i, p. 272):—"They visit the graves of their ancestors and relations from time to time. They strew them with odoriferous flowers; and when they depart, they leave a few small pieces of silk or linen, before the entrance, and sometimes boiled rice, or other victuals; which is speedily made away with at night."

'Tis thus Religion, ill understood, oftentimes degenerates into Extravagance. As for the other Presents, I'm well assur'd they poyson them likewise, as well knowing the Motive of Interest frequently prevails over that of Superstition.[1] Among their Tombs there are some very large, and finely set off: They have divers *Pagodes* at *Batavia*.[2] At first sight these Temples seem much to resemble the *Roman*-Catholick Churches.[3]

You see three sorts of Chapels, Altars, Wax-Tapers, Lamps, Holy-Water, Pictures, Statues and Images of a hundred forms. The Priests too are set off with Ornaments, not unlike those of the *Roman*-Catholick Clergy. They wear at their Girdles, or on their Arms, certain Chaplets, whose Beads are not all equal, and which they make use of to count certain Prayers which they repeat machinally. The People have also their Devotions calculated, rather for a Monkey than a God, and wear their strings of little Bullets, in like manner with the Priests.

When these last celebrate they use many Genuflexions, turn to the Right, Left, forwards and backwards, one making Invocations, and the other answering him; The By-standers

[1] In orig.: "de la Superstition, quelque violent qu'il soit, de même que tous les autres," omitted by translator.

[2] In orig.: "autour de Batavia."

[3] "In fact, though these people have temples erected in various parts of the Island of Java and one at Anjole, close to Batavia, the structures seem to be formed more out of compliance with custom than for any serious purpose, since religious rites are hardly ever observed in them nor is anything like worship practised by the people who built them." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 247.)

"An image, with tapers burning before it, representing either a good, or evil genius, or both together sometimes, is placed in every Chinese dwelling. This idol is frequently consulted by dropping two or more sticks before it, and in a variety of other ways, which the Chinese interprets according to certain rules, and thus determines the regulation of his trading concerns by lot, not very dissimilar to the divination of the ancients, and the practice still observed by the modern Arabians." (*Ibid.*, p. 247.)

seem to afford great Attention. Very often, and especially a Mornings, a Priest walks thro' the Street carrying a little *I know not what*, over whose Head is born a sort of Canopy, and a great multitude follows this Idol very devoutly. They have likewise very great Processions, in which they carry a sort of Cross, and Standards of divers shapes and colours. These are things which I have often seen.

Furthermore when you ask the most Sensible among them what they Worship, they answer very well, that they Worship but one God, no more than the *Hollanders;* that the Human Figures you see in the Temples, are only Representations of Men and Women, who have formerly liv'd well, and are now in a state of Happiness; that the Adoration they pay them is not of the same kind with that they pay to God; that they honour them only on God's account, because they are his intimate Friends; and as for the other Statues of different forms, whereof some seem to Strangers so ridiculous and ill favour'd, it could not be thought that they believ'd them to be any thing but inanimate Matter, however, they affirm'd they represented mysteriously the various Virtues or Attributes, as we speak, of the most high Power which has made the World; and that these Figures were very proper to captivate the attention of a People, who could not be extraordinarily mov'd at any thing but that they fancy'd in their Imaginations, and who were accustom'd to call that nothing, which was invisible: That a Hieroglyphick, for Example, with an hundred Arms inspir'd them with an Idea of a great Power, and dispos'd them to the profoundest Acts of Humiliation; and that it was the same of the rest. This brings into my Memory the Christian Exposition,[1] which the Learned Bishop

[1] Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet was born at Dijon, 28th September 1627. When Bishop of Condom, in 1671, he published his celebrated *Exposition de la foi Catholique*, after he had succeeded in reuniting M. de Turenne (the great Turenne) to the Catholic Church. This book of

of Meaux has given us of the Doctrine and Practice of his Religion.[1] These Idolaters, whom I cannot forbear to call by that Name, notwithstanding they pretend to make the best use of their natural Light,[2] confest they pay also some Adoration to the wicked Spirits, not thro' Love, or any other Respect they have for them, but for the same reason that you stroke a surly Dog, that he may not bite you, or that a Man of mean Condition cringes to a great Lord, and that Lord plays the same part over again at Court.

'Tis certainly true, that both in *China* and elsewhere among the Idolaters, those Persons who have been capable of any Reflection, have always believ'd that there was only one Almighty Sovereign Power, the truly supream and absolute Authority not being liable to Division. But the People in general have not these Ideas.

When these Subaltern Deities have obstinately persisted to refuse those things that were reasonably demanded of them, they have been chastis'd after an exemplary manner. Sometimes their Temples have been ras'd, and their Priests driven away from their Idols. Father *Le Comte*[3] displays this so well, that I cannot help making use of his very Words.

the *Exposition*, writes Father de Baupet (Bishop of Alais) in 1814, has been perhaps the most useful of Bossuet's works, both in the good effect which it has produced and by the general attention which it caused.

[1] "I will appeal to all unbyass'd persons, when once Posterity shall read the History of the Persecution of *France*, as represented by *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and others of the same stamp, I say, when they shall read the same in these Authors, whether they would not be apt to imagin that these poor Wretches were used with all imaginable moderation, if it were not manifest by unquestionable Authority, that these unfortunate Creatures suffer'd all the Cruelties that could be invented by their implacable Enemies." (Max Misson's *Voyage to Italy*, Letter XXV.)

[2] In orig : "malgré les subterfuges de ceux d'entre eux qui font le meilleur usage de leur lumière naturelle."

[3] *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de La Chine*, par le P. Loüis Le Comte, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Mathématicien du Roy. Tome

"When the People are tir'd, they Despise, Revile, and even Beat their Gods. Dog of a Spirit, say they, as if they were speaking to a bad King, we lodge thee in a Magnificent Temple, thou art well gilt, well fed and incens'd, and yet thou art so ungrateful, as to refuse us the things we ask of thee, and which are even necessary. After this, *adds the Father*, they bind the treacherous God with Cords, and drag him about the Streets loaded with Dirt and all sorts of Filth, to punish him for his unkind usage of them. If by chance they afterwards obtain what they sought after, then they carry their Idol with great Ceremony back again to his Niche, after having well wash'd and cleans'd him. They prostrate themselves also before him, and make him various Excuses. To speak Truth, say they to him, we were a little too hasty, but were not you likewise in the wrong, to

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Lettre X. A Monseigneur Le Cardinal de Boüillon. *De la Religion ancienne & moderne des Chinois* (p. 127):—

"Il est vray qu'on n'a pas toûjours pour ces Dieux tout le respect que semble mériter leur qualité. Car il arrive assez souvent qu'après avoir esté bien honorez, si le peuple n'obtient pas d'eux ce qu'il demande, il se lasse enfin, & les abandonne comme des Dieux impuissans; d'autres les traitent avec le dernier mépris: les uns les chargent d'injures, & les autres de coups. Comment, *chien d'esprit*, luy disent-ils quelquefois, nous te logeons dans un Temple magnifique, tu es bien doré, bien nourri, bien encensé, & après tous ces soins que nous prenons de toy, tu es assez ingrat pour nous refuser ce qui nous est nécessaire?

"Ensuite on le lie avec des cordes, & on le traisne par les ruës, chargé de bouë & de toutes sortes d'immondices, pour luy faire payer les pastilles dont on l'avoit auparavant parfumé. Que si durant ce temps-là ils obtiennent, par hasard, ce qu'ils souhaient; alors ils raportent l'Idole en cérémonie dans sa niche, après l'avoir bien lavée & bien essuyée: ils se prosternent mesme en sa présence, & luy font diverses excuses. A la vérité, luy disent-ils, nous nous sommes un peu trop pressez; mais au fond, n'avez-vous pas tort d'estre si difficile? Pourquoy vous faire battre à plaisir? Vous en cousteroit-il plus d'accorder les choses de bonne grâce? Cependant ce qui est fait est fait, n'y songeons plus. On vous redorera, pourvû que vous oubliez tout le passé."

be so unkind to us? Why would you suffer your self to be thus us'd, would it not have been better for you to have granted chearfully what we ask'd?"

The *Chineses* have a great share of exterior Devotion, some Instances of which I have observ'd. The Butchers bless their Meat before they expose it to Sale, and every one blesses his Victuals, before he puts it into his Mouth. The Master of the House repeats divers Prayers, and reiterates many Genuflections, after which he offers what he has to those that are present. I know this by Experience, and I know likewise, they would take it for an unpardonable Affront, should any one refuse to eat what they so offer'd him.

The third sort of Inhabitants of *Batavia*, (and who might take it ill for not being nam'd the first, were it not that 'tis customary to prefer the Rich to the Poor,) are the *Javans*[1] or Natives of the Island. They are Tawny, of moderate Stature, and well shap'd.

They go half-naked, and keep part of their Hair under their Turbants,[2] but let fall the rest. I once saw a *Javan* Prince at *Batavia*, who went Habited after the *Holland* Fashion, only he kept his Turbant. Their Huts are made with *Bamboos*, and cover'd with Leaves, and are for the most part small and

[1] The Javanese at Batavia occupy two Campongs, each under a chief of their own nation, on the right and left of the Great River. They are principally husbandmen, and cultivate the rice-fields in the neighbourhood; but some are employed in fishing. The Javanese, who are better featured than the Malays, are of a light brown colour, muscular and well made. The women also have a more pleasing cast of countenance than the Malay females, and in some of the hilly tracts they are really beautiful. They generally wear a long black gown, with a cloth wrapped round to serve as a petticoat; and the men a black cotton frock, with either a cloth tied round the waist or a short pair of drawers. The higher classes are very partial to chintzes, silks, and velvets, which they are fond of embroidering and in which they generally appear on all festivals and public occasions. (Thorn, *l. c.*, pp. 238, 240.)

[2] In orig.: "turban."

ill-built.[1] The whole Family lies, if I may so speak, in one Chamber. These People are extreamly sober, and have no Appetite to eat much. They oftentimes content themselves with a little Rice, Fruit, and dry'd Fish. Being *Mahometans* they use no inebriating Liquors. *Tea*, or pure water, is their Ordinary Drink: They have the Reputation of having a great deal of Wit, and being quick of Apprehension. 'Tis said they are exceeding faithful to one another, but Strangers sometimes find they are not the same to them, being possess'd with that wicked and pernicious Maxim, not to keep Faith with such as they think Hereticks, neither in Religious Matters, nor anything else. They are Laborious, and above all, good Fishermen.

They all wear by their Sides, and in Scabbards Daggers poyson'd half-way with a most subtil sort of Poyson,[2] which some of them know how to temper so, that it shall never operate but when, and as often as they please. The most dangerous of these Poysons is the sap of a Tree which grows in the Island of *Borneo*. The Inhabitants of that Island make use of it to poyson their little Darts, which they shoot out of Trunks.[3] The *Javans* sometimes use a certain Drink to make them furious, and when they are so, they cry incessantly, *Amerci*, *Amerci*, which in their Language signifies, *Kill, kill*. They then run about like Mad-Men,[4] and

[1] Both Malays and Javanese dwell in bamboo huts, divided into different apartments, sometimes plaistered with mud, and usually raised two or three feet from the ground. All the villages are surrounded by topes of cocoa-nut and other favourite fruit trees, encircled round with a thick bamboo hedge. (*Thorn*, p. 238.)

[2] "A sap extracted from the juicy leaves of the Magas or Kiati tree, is held in high estimation, as an effectual cure of wounds made by crisses and spears that have been dipped in a poison composed of the blood of the Gekko and other ingredients." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 213.)

[3] In orig.: "Sarbacanes," *i.e.*, blow-tubes.

[4] In orig.: "d'une violence effroyable," omitted by translator.

This peculiar frenzy, now commonly known as "running *amuk*", is not unusual throughout the East Indian Archipelago, and indeed is a

kill whatever comes in their way with wonderful Address and Agility. To save your Life at that Juncture, there is no better way then to run from them as soon as you see them coming at a distance, but this is in case you are not in a Condition to defend your self.[1]

These Customs they have in common with the People of *Macassar* their Neighbours, and those of the Isle of *Celebes*[2] to

characteristic malady among the Malays everywhere. Vincent le Blanc gives a name to the Javanese warriors derived from this source: "Sa principalle force estoit en certains soldats appellez *Amocos*, c'est à dire determinez & mesprisans leur vie, qui auoient coustume de s'oindre de certaine confection ou huile odorant, pour monstrer leur resolution à la mort." (*Les Voyages du Sieur Vincent le Blanc*, p. 149.)

Sonnerat, also, makes especial mention of the ferocity of the Malays, stating that the captains of ships were prohibited from embarking any Malay as a sailor: "On a vu quelquefois de ces hommes atroces, embarqués imprudemment en très-petit nombre, attaquer, dans le moment qu'on y pensait le moins, un vaisseau, le poignard à la main, et tuer beaucoup d'hommes avant qu'on pût s'en rendre maître. On a vu des bateaux malais, armés de vingt-cinq à trente hommes, aborder hardiment des vaisseaux européens de quarante canons, pour s'en emparer et massacrer, avec le poignard, une partie de l'équipage. L'histoire malaise est pleine de traits semblables, qui tous annoncent la férocité la plus téméraire. Le malais, qui n'est pas serf, est toujours armé; il rougirait de sortir de sa maison sans son poignard, qu'il nomme *crik*. L'industrie de la nation s'est surpassée dans la fabrication de cet instrument destructeur." (*Voyages aux Indes et à la Chine*, vol. iii, p. 363.)

[1] In orig.: "en les tuant eux-mêmes," omitted by translator.

[2] "The Buggese, or inhabitants of Celebes, are trained from their childhood to martial exercises; and they are, in consequence, very dexterous in the use of the spear. The criss, which is constantly worn by them, too often proves the fatal instrument of assassination. Numerous instances are related of their inflamed passions bursting forth in sudden and violent starts; and sometimes, without the least provocation, they are known to have attacked persons in the public streets, of whom they had not the slightest knowledge, cutting and stabbing them to death, from no other motive, frequently, than to try the metal of their crisses or choppers. An occurrence of this kind was very recently witnessed. While a Buggese was carrying wood through the town of Macassar, a man whom he had never seen stabbed him in passing, with his criss, in the shoulder, without the smallest offence having been given. The person attacked turned instantly with his chopper; and after a

the East of *Java*. These last make use likewise of the *Crit* or *Cric*, a poyson'd Ponyard[1]: They make themselves mad in like manner with the *Javans*, with their Liquid *Opium*, of which they take a certain Dose to render them dauntless and furious. They baul out *Moka*, *Moka*, as the *Javans* do *Amerei*. When they are in this Condition, they think only of killing, or being kill'd themselves. A single *Macassar* in this furious Humour, would attack a whole Regiment. They have Iron Corselets, and with their *Cric*, wear likewise a Sabre and a *Zagay*: They also shoot Poyson'd Darts[2] out of a Trunk. Certain pieces of paper with Magick Characters which they carry

desperate battle, at noon day, in which no person interfered, the aggressor was at length completely cut to pieces." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 335.) Major Thorn also cites another recent instance, equally shocking and barbarous, in which an escaped criminal killed upwards of twenty men before he fell under the crisses of his assailants.

[1] In orig.: "empoisonné avec des manières superstitieuses & diaboliques."

[2] In orig.: "Ils souffent aussi de petits dards envenimez avec la Sarbacane."

Poisoned weapons. "*Antiaris toxicaria* of the Siamese countries and Malayan archipelago. The *bohun Upas* is a large forest-tree, sometimes called "*antsjar*", and the knowledge of its exudation seems implied in the prohibition against poisoned arrows in the Institutes of Manu. Clasping the poison-tree is mentioned by *Bhavabhuti*. *A. toxicaria* is known to grow as far as Lat. 19° in the neighbouring portion of Burmah, and its exudation continues to be used by the Karens to poison arrows. Further South, a tree in the Malayan archipelago, according to Jordanus (Col. Yule's edit., Hakluyt Society, vol. xxxi), is said when in flower to kill every man that cometh near it: an account not strictly true, but *A. toxicaria* has been shown by Rumphius, ii, pl. 87, L. de la Tour and Blume, to be virulently poisonous; it is known to grow particularly on Java, Baly, and Celebes." (Dr. Charles Pickering, *Chronological Hist. of Plants*, p. 422.)

"The *Strychnos tieute* of Java, a climber 120 feet, or *upas radja*, the bark of whose root yields one of the most dangerous poisons known, acting like nux vomica." (*Ibid.*, p. 445.)

The *betel* palm is the *Areca catechu* of the Malay archipelago, said to be the "*petros*" of the Erythræan Periplus, and its nuts have, according to Wilkinson, been exhumed from ancient Egyptian tombs. (Pickering, *op cit.*, p. 331.)

about them, are, they believe, a more powerful Preservative than either their Arms or their Armour.

When I was at *Batavia*, the *Cric* was forbidden to the common *Javans*, and only Officers and other Persons of Distinction had the Privilege to wear it. They were distinguishable by this Weapon, the Hilt whereof was massy Gold, as likewise by Guards, which the People of Quality were attended by. These were arm'd with Wooden Half-pikes, which they carry'd upright: Princes and Ambassadors have a number of these Guards to wait on them. The Princes, etc., are carry'd on People's shoulders in a sort of Litter cover'd, in the middle of which they sit cross-legg'd like our Taylors.[1]

The *Javan* Women, according to common Report, are extraordinary amorous, and what is uncommon, their Passion is no less constant than strong. They frequently make use of Philtres, which I have been assur'd they administer to their Lovers with Success[2]: And when they suspect that any of them have been faithless to them, they do not fail to regale them with such a Drug, as quickly sends them to the Kingdom of Moles,[3] so that it requires a Mans Consideration twice, before he engages with those sorts of Females once. There are a great many who not being so much expos'd to fatigues as the Men, are not near so Tawny, and who might pass even in *Europe* for Genteel.[4] They have likewise good Faces, especially the younger sort, according to the notion we have of Beauty. Their pretty swelling Breasts have no conformity

[1] In orig.: "dans une espèce de brancart couvert, au milieu duquel ils sont assis sur une planche traversante large d'un bon pied, les jambes croisées comme nos tailleurs."

[2] In orig.: "à leurs Maris ou à leurs galans afin d'augmenter & d'assujettir de plus en plus leur amour."

[3] In orig.: "qui le mine peu-à-peu, & qui l'envoye enfin dans le sombre Païs, que plusieurs appellent aussi bien que nous, le Royaume des Taupes."

[4] In orig.: "qui seroient trouvées fort gentilles par les plus delicats de nos Européens."

with the dangling Duggs of the homely *Africans* near the *Cape*. Their Complexions are fine and good, tho' a little brownish, their Hands fair, their Air soft, their Eyes sprightly and their Laughing agreeable: To put all together, there are many of them that are perfectly handsom. I have seen some Dance the most charmingly that could be. They go about Streets with a sort of Drummer after their mode, who beats time to their Motions, and after the young Wench has ended her Dance, one gives her something for Encouragement. Another Charm they have is, that they are extreamly neat and cleanly, their Religion obliging them to wash themselves all over several times a Day, and their Custom being, as I have already observ'd, to clear their Skins of all that hinders them from being extreamly soft and smooth. After all this, I know not whether *Java* may not pass for a gallant Country.[1]

But after I have commended these jolly Women so much, I can't help adding to their Disadvantage, that if all I heard be true, they are not extraordinary faithful to their Husbands[2]; nevertheless, they seem extreamly Submissive. They lie groveling along upon the Ground while their Husbands sit, especially if there be any Strangers there, (for it may be inferr'd from all I have said, they do not conceal themselves like the *Chineses*, or other *Mahometans* of *Turkey*, *Persia*, and elsewhere): But generally speaking, these couchant Postures signifie little to their Honesty, and are of no more Signification, than *your most humble Servant* at the end of a Letter.

These Women go in their Hair, and have for Habit a short Wastcoat with little Sleeves lac'd before, which sits close without joining, and being cut sloping a-top, discovers great

[1] In orig.: "je ne sais si après tout cela il est nécessaire de dire que l'Isle de *Java* n'est pas un païs où la galanterie soit inconnue: l'amour y regne, finement même, & violemment."

[2] In orig.: "n'ayent pour leurs Maris, la fidelité qu'elles veulent qu'ils ayent pour elles."

part of their Breasts. Under this Corselet, which hardly reaches to their Hipps, they wrap their Bodies in a sort of Scarf of divers Colours, which serves them for a Petticoat, and which being light and thin, requires two or three folds to keep them warm. This covers them to their Ancles, but as they wear no Smocks, there is always a List of brownish Flesh (which it may be, would not be better if it were altogether white) seen between the bottom of the Wastcoat, and the upper part of the Scarf.[1] This covering fitting close to their Bodies, displays the bad shapes of some of them, as it does the good of others, which last has, I know not what bewitching effect. The richest of Women wear Slippers, which perhaps may be a mark of Distinction, because few wear them, tho' they cost but little.

When these Women marry any *Hollanders*, or other Christians, they are likewise oblig'd to espouse the Christian Religion.[2] God only knows what sort of Christianity that is,

[1] In orig.: "Cette enveloppe les bride devant & derrière, aux environs de ce qui est au dessous de la ceinture, & fait un peu trop voir la forme du corps à celles qui l'ont mal bâti; mais a quelque chose de drôle, dans les jolies tailles."

"Their dress is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and fastened under the arms, next to the skin; over it they wear a shift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat; which is all covered by a long gown or *Kabay*, as it is called, which hangs loose; the sleeves come down to the wrists, where they are fastened close with six or seven little gold or diamond buttons. . . . They all go with their heads uncovered; the hair, which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, fastened with gold and diamond hair-pins, which they call a *Condē*; in the front, and on the sides of the head, it is stroked smooth, and rendered shining by being anointed with cocoa-nut-oil." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, p. 323.)

[2] Thorn says that "the professed religion of the Malays and Javanese is Mohamedanism, but mixed with many superstitions. They seem indeed to be so very careless of its rites that it would be difficult from common observation to ascertain the nature of their faith and worship." (*Op. cit.*, p. 239.)

Wilcocke states that the Cheik Ibn Molana, an Arabian, came to Java in 1406, but that Mahomedanism had, according to Valentyn,

for from the third and fourth Generation, the Children that are born of these Marriages, always go after the *Javan* Mode. It is these sorts of Converts[1] that generally fill the *Malay* Church before mention'd: The number of Converts[2] is much less, in that the Men have not the same Motives for Conversion. The Christian Women[3] being but very few for the Christians themselves, the *Javans*, can get none of them, let them be as much Converts as they please, whereas the scarcity of that Sex oftentimes occasions the Christian Men to match with the *Javan* Women.

The Marriages between the *Javan* Men and Women, are concluded with few or no Ceremonies, in like manner as their Burials are. They call themselves of the Sect of *Tommi*, and despise the other *Mahometans*, altho' they are all of the same Sentiments concerning the principal Articles of their Belief.[4]

Before we leave the Island of *Java*, I will observe some Particulars concerning it, slightly touch'd by the famous *Lodivoco Vertomanni*,[5] of whom I have formerly spoken. In my Opinion, exact and faithful Travellers ought not only to

been introduced previously. The tomb of this Cheik at Cheribon, with the mosque belonging to it, are magnificent monuments, to which pilgrimages have been performed during four centuries. (Cf. *Stavorinus*, vol. iii, p. 372.)

[1] "Converties," *i.e.*, female converts.

[2] "Convertis," *i.e.*, male converts.

[3] "Les filles Chrétiennes."

[4] In orig.: "Chose dont personne ne se doit pas plus étonner que de voir le Christianisme divisé comme il l'est, bien qu'il soit très-vrai que tous conviennent aussi de l'Essentiel, ou des Points Fondamentaux, comme on parle. De sorte que tous feroient une même profession publique, si la pédanterie, & le préjugé n'en empêchoient pas: & si, au lieu de tordre l'Ecriture, & de broder, comme on fait, l'ancien Symbole, en l'étendant même à droit & à gauche comme à l'infini; on s'en tenoit, sagement & humblement, aux purs & simples termes de la Révélation proprement dite, dans toutes les choses, que l'on reconnoit unanimement être mysterieuses, comme dans les autres." The whole of this paragraph is omitted by the translator.

[5] In orig.: "Louis Vertomanni." (Cf. *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, Hakluyt edit., 1864.)

relate new things, but to undeceive the Readers in the Errors relating to old. *Vertomanni* says of *Java*, "'Tis an Island in the East where very fine Emeralds are found,"[1] yet I that liv'd a whole year there, could never hear of any such thing, tho' I made never so much Enquiry. But I'll oppose *Tavernier* to *Vertomanni*: "Tis an ancient Error," says Monsieur *Tavernier*, "that a great many People have believ'd that Emeralds were found originally in the East. The greatest part of Jewellers, as soon as they view a high-colour'd Emerald, are accustom'd to cry, see an oriental Emerald! But they are deceiv'd, for I am as certain as can be, that neither the *Terra-firma*, nor any of the Islands of the East ever produc'd any. I have made a strict Enquiry", said he, "after this, in all my Voyages."

There can be nothing more positive, and Monsieur *Tavernier*, [illegible] Author mean enough in other Respects, ought certainly to be hearken'd to when he talks about precious Stones which he dealt in: He that had made six Voyages by Land to the Grand *Indies*, and had visited the whole East for so many years, even to decrepit old Age.

Vertomanni adds with some Assurance, that the Island *Java* has Mines of Gold, and when he speaks of the pretended *Anthropophagi* that inhabit it, he tells you exactly what *Diodorus Siculus*, *Mela*, *Solinus*[2] and I know not how many other Authors have related of divers other Countries, viz., that they carry their old and sick People to the Market to sell, and deliver them from their Infirmities by eating them. A very odd sort of Food!

As I have never seen elsewhere so fine *Negro* Men and

[1] "Emeralds, though said to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eastern Continent, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Islands, and so transported into Europe." (Tavernier, *Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 374.)

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 255. Misson never tires of dragging in quotations from these old Latin authors, a method apparently deprecated by Leguat himself.

Women as at *Batavia*, I am apt to imagine, for I forgot to inform my self of it, that they do not bring all those Slaves from the Coasts of *Guinea*, where they have all large flat Noses, and thick Lips; but however it be, I met at *Batavia*, divers very pretty *Negro*-Women, with Faces much like ours of *Europe*, large brilliant Eyes, wonderful white Teeth, fine Shapes, beautiful and soft Breasts, as were likewise all the other parts of their Bodies, tho' black as Jett. If one would but consider that this Complexion is, in a manner, unalterable, not being subject to any of those Palenesses, Rednesses, Freckles, and the like disadvantages which the White Women continually undergo; and if we moreover remember that the Black Colour has its Lustre and Value, as well as any other, we must cease to wonder at their Tast who love a fine *Negro*-Woman as much, or rather more than a White one.

There are so few *Moors* in this Island, altho' they have a Quarter assign'd them at *Batavia*, that it is hardly worth speaking any more of them, than of private Persons of other Nations who come to Traffick there, or to accompany Ambassadors.

I have been very sorry for forgetting to inform my self particularly of the People[1] call'd *Chacrelats* at *Batavia*, of whom I have seen several, both Men and Women. They are white and fair, but what is most Remarkable in them, is that their Eyes cannot endure the Light, and they always see best a-nights, so that they turn Night into Day, and Day into Night. I have often met of them trudging along with their Eyes almost shut,[2] because they were not able to look on the Light.

After having continu'd near a year at *Batavia*, we departed from thence with the *Holland* Fleet,[3] consisting of seventeen

[1] In orig.: "la Nation."

[2] In orig.: "quoique vers le soir," omitted by translator.

[3] "The homeward-bound Dutch East India Company's ships were

Ships, *November* 28, 1697. We came before *Bantam*[1] the 30th, and tarry'd there to the 6th of the following Month. We were eleven days in passing the Streights of *Sundt*,[2] which Seamen call the Channel. Sometimes one is above a Month in this Passage, by reason of the great inconstancy of the Winds, altho' this Streight be not more than 36 Leagues thro'.[3]

Nothing Remarkable happen'd to us till we came to the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, unless that in our way we learnt from a *Dutch* Ship that was going to *Batavia*, that the Peace of *Reswick*[4] was concluded and sign'd. As soon as the Fleet

divided at Batavia into two fleets, one of which generally left India towards the end of the year, the other some months afterwards; and some days before the departure of each a single ship sailed for Europe which was called the *voorzeilder*, or forerunner. Except in war-time their ships seldom sailed together, though they usually made their *rendez-vous* at the Cape of Good Hope." (Note by S. H. Wilcocke, translator of *Admiral Stavorinus' Voyages; op. cit.*, i, p. 170.)

[1] Bantam Bay is about two leagues and a half S E. from St. Nicholas Point, which is fifty miles west of Batavia. The bay is extensive, and contains several islands, of which Pulo Panjang is the largest. Formerly Bantam was a fine port, but it was monopolised by the Dutch in 1683, when Fort Spielwyk was erected. The natives continued bitter enemies of the Dutch until 1742, when they were completely subdued. (Cf. Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 262.) Stavorinus writes that ships passing out through the Straits of Sunda often anchor in the bay of Anjer to take their last supply of fresh water. (*Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 207.)

[2] The Strait of Sunda.

[3] The Strait of Sunda is sixty miles in width at its western entrance between Flat Cape, the S.W. extremity of Sumatra, and the noble Java Head, the western extremity of Java, but the main strait is narrowed by Princes Island on the south side, the N.W. point of which is fifty-one miles from Flat Cape. (Findlay, *op. cit.*, p. 1228.)

The Strait of Sunda is subject to the N.W. monsoon and outside the limits of the south-east trade wind during November, which accounts for the delay experienced by the Dutch at this season. Stavorinus states that the current through the strait changed its course twice in twenty-four hours, independent of the wind. (Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 207.)

[4] In orig.: "que la paix avoit été conclue & signée à Riswik." The peace of Ryswick concluded the wars of the League of Augs-

had understood this News, the Cannons began to roar out our Joy, Doles were distributed to all the Ships Crews, and all the Seamen embrac'd, as if they had not seen one another for many years. Healths went briskly round, and in a word, nothing was wanted that could contribute to our Rejoycing: But withal, we could not help thinking that this Peace would not last long. The next day we arriv'd in sight of the *Cape*,[1] and about Noon approach'd the little Isle *Robben*, which lies at the entrance into the Gulph.

We then saw appear upon one of the Neighbouring Mountains call'd the Devils *Mount*, a certain Mist[2] which was an infallible forerunner of furious Winds, that very much incommode Vessels even in the Bay, and our Captain fore-seeing what was like to ensue, immediately gave out his Orders concerning it. But hardly were matters got ready, before we were oblig'd to drop Anchor to prevent our being forc'd out to Sea.

The Winds blew after that furious manner, that our Cables were not able to resist them, but broke like so many Threads. There was hardly one Vessel but lost one of its Anchors, and several lost three. Four of the hindermost Ships were driven out again to Sea, and the Vice-Admiral among them. This last, who had some private Reasons for not being extraordinary well satisfy'd, made use of this Pretence of the Wind, to sail directly for *St. Helena*[3]: The other Ships

bourg (1688-1697), when Louis XIV acknowledged William III as King of England.

[1] "In their return to Holland they [the Dutch Company's ships] always make some stay at the Cape, as well to take in refreshments, as to be informed of the Company's orders that may concern any of the passengers on board; some of whom perhaps are ordered back, that their conduct may be examined in the Indies; and to receive the news of the state of things in Europe, as, by the way, they carry gazettes, or news papers, home with them." (*Universal History, Modern, l.c.*, vol. ix, p. 132.)

[2] A peculiar nimbus-tinted canopy of cloud, which foretells the south-east gale. (*Findlay*, p. 212.)

[3] In orig.: "& en repartit pour continuer sa route sans nous attendre," omitted by translator.

rejoyn'd us some few days after before Isle *Robben*.[1] At length the Wind being appeas'd, and becoming favourable, we Anchor'd in the Bay the 12th of *February* 1698. Next day we went a-shoar, and every one provided himself with such Refreshment as the time would permit him to get.

Since we are happily arriv'd once more at the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, I'll keep the promise I formerly made, and add some Particulars to what I have before said.[2]

The Point of the *Cape*, which is, as every one knows, in the 35th Degree of Southern Latitude, advances a great way into the Sea. The violent Storms[3] that reign there are so terrible, that the most skilful Mariners are at a loss how to manage them, so that the Bay which seems to be fine, is render'd disagreeable by these Tempests. The Sea-Winds drive in such prodigious Surges,[4] that no Cables hardly are able to oppose them.

The last Fleet had a sad experience of this, losing many of its Ships, and if the Tempest had lasted but half an hour longer, 'tis probable not one would have escap'd, since those few that did ride it out, did it by the good hold of their last Anchor.[5]

1 *Robben*, or *Seal Island*, five miles N. by E. from the Green Point, at the west side of the entrance to Table Bay. An infirmary for lepers and lunatics is situated on the south-east part of the island, which has recently been described in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September 1889.

2 *Vide supra*, p. 33.

3 "Il s'y élève aussi souvent de furieux tourbillons, qui se précipitent du sommet des montagnes & du milieu des nuës avec tant de fracas, qu'on diroit que le ciel va s'abîmer & la mer rompre ses bornes & inonder toute la terre. Il n'est par sur pour les vaisseaux de tenter l'abordage de cette côte, tant que cet orage dure." (Dapper's *Africa*, French edition, 1686, p. 383.)

4 In orig.: "avec tant d'impétuosité," omitted by translator.

5 "In the afternoon of the 24th May 1697, the Company's homeward bound ships *Waddingsveen* and *Oosterland*, with valuable cargoes on board, were driven ashore at Salt River mouth in a great gale, and were dashed to pieces at once. Two other ships, out of a large fleet that was lying in the bay, narrowly escaped the same fate. Only seventeen

This Bay seems to penetrate far into the Land, and is about three Leagues long, and two broad. Isle *Robben* lies on the *Larboard*, or left side of the Ship. It is very flat, and about two Leagues about.

I *say Robben*, and not *Robin*, as it is written by the greatest part of our *French* Travellers and Geographers, who not understanding the Word, have chang'd the Sence and Orthography of it, as I could prove by a great many Examples. When the *French* write *Robin*, they imagin, I suppose, this Island had its Name from some *Robert*, whereof *Robin* is the Nick-name, but this is grosly erroneous. The Isle was in truth so call'd from certain Fish nam'd in *Flemish*, *Robben*. They are a sort of Sea-Dogs, found in great abundance about this Island.[1]

The Fort is on the other side of the Bay to the Right, and almost South-Eastward of this little Island: It lies behind some Hills,[2] so that you cannot see it till you are got a good way into the Bay. It does not command all of it, as many have unadvisedly Written. It is a regular *Pentagon* fac'd with Stone, and without any Ditches or Outworks. 'Tis well pointed with Artillery, and has 500 Men in Gar-

men in all were saved from the two wrecks." (Theal's *History of South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 12.)

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 29. In French edition of Dapper's *Africa* (pp. 382-90) "*Robben Eilant*" is translated *l'île des Lapins*, *i.e.*, Rabbit Island: an obvious mistake.

This island is thus described in 1771, when still under the Dutch: "Before the bay lies a small and low island, of something more than three quarters of a league in circumference, called *Robben*, or *Seal* island. It is a barren and rocky spot, interspersed with patches of sandy ground. It serves as a place of exile, or confinement, for criminals sent hither either from the Indies or the Cape. These are obliged to labour for several hours every day, in the service of the Company, chiefly in hewing and transporting of lime-stone, which is afterwards carried by small vessels to the Cape, and is used in the construction of houses, and other works; they are allowed the necessary provisions by the Company." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, p. 536.)

[2] In orig.: "Il est couvert par une hauteur."

rison. In it the Governor and all the Officers of the Company live.[1]

About seven or eight hundred Paces from the Fort, and near the Sea, there is a little Town with about 300 Houses in it. The Streets are strait, and drawn by Line; the Houses are built with white Stones, and at a distance it promises much more than you find when you come near, nevertheless it has wherewithal to content any body, and you observe the *Holland* neatness enough in it. There are a great many Inns which furnish what Provisions you have occasion for.

Hard by is the *Company's* principal Garden[2]: It is about 1,500 Paces long, and 250 broad, but to deal ingenuously, I did not find it so Magnificent, as I have seen it describ'd. 'Tis true, you see there most charming Walks of Orange and Citron-Trees of all kinds, which reach to the end. It is also furnish'd with Pear-Trees, Apple-Trees, Pomgranate-Trees, Fig-Trees, Peach-Trees, Quince-Trees, and all other Fruit-Trees, as well *European* as *Indian;* but all these grow low without being Dwarfs, yet they thrive as well as one could

[1] Herr Simon van der Stel was the *Gouverneur en Extraordinaar Raad* at the Cape at this date (*vide supra*, p. 32); and Olof Berg was the Militaire Hoofd, in command of the troops, with Jan Baptista Dubertino as his Lieutenant. (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 41.)

[2] "One of the most beautiful things here in Table Bay, which must be mentioned, is the incomparable garden of the East India Company. All that the ancients wrote about the gardens of the Hesperides with its pure golden apples, of the gardens of Alcinous, of Adonis, of Epicurus, the hanging gardens of Babel, about those of Lucullus, Sallust, Cicero, and others, all their wonderful descriptions of these can hardly approach, in the slightest degree, the matchless gardens at the Cape." (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 17.) The botanist, Oldenland, who was superintendent of the gardens when Leguat visited the Cape, had formed an extensive collection of native and exotic plants which deserved higher praise than Leguat was disposed to accord. Valentyn, who was a clergyman, called at the Cape in 1685, 1695, 1705, and 1714. He has given an admirable description of the Cape Colony in his great work on the Dutch Colonies. (Cf. *Cape Quarterly Review*, vol. i, p. 411.)

expect. A certain part of this Garden has been assign'd for Muscat-Vines, which bear good and fair Grapes.

It has likewise in great abundance almost all our sorts of Herbs, Pulse, Flowers and other Plants. It is water'd by divers Rivulets which fall from certain Places in the Mountains, and are distributed into several artificial Canals. All about this Garden there are a great many thick Trees, which tho' they defend it tolerably from the Wind,[1] yet they cannot absolutely do it, which is the reason that things don't thrive there wonderfully well. The Trees themselves do not also grow so kindly as in other Places.

A little farther on the Declivity of the Mountain, you see here and there many Houses surrounded with Vines, Gardens and Groves, which together have a very agreeable effect on the Eye.

The *Company* has another Garden about a League off, which lies in a better Soil, and is more shelter'd from bad Winds. You have there long Walks of Oaks, as far as your Eye can well reach, and a large Wood of young Trees of the same kind rais'd from Acorns. One day they may likewise make use of these Trees for Houses and Ships. At present there are Trees fit for the Carpenter only, in a Forest about two Leagues from the Fort.

The Governor has a pleasant House call'd *Constantia*,[2] about two Leagues from the *Cape*. Here *he* lives the greatest part of the year, not only on account of the Air, which is Excellent, the fine Prospect, and the admirable Soil, but also by reason of the great quantity of Game which are thereabouts, Hunting being the greatest and most profitable Diversion of this Country.

[1] In orig.: "à l'épreuve de ces coups de vent dont j'ai parlé."

[2] In 1699, Governor van der Stel retired to his farm, Constantia, where he had built a large and handsome residence, and devoted himself to agriculture and cattle rearing. Practically he had the whole peninsula as a cattle-run, and the wine which he made was the best in the colony. (Cf. Theal's *History*, *l. c.*, p. 14.)

Ten Leagues from the *Cape* up in the Country, there is a Colony call'd *Draguestain*.[1] It consists of about 300 Souls as well *Hollanders* as *French* Protestants, which last fled from *France* upon revoking the *Edict* of *Nantz*.

This Colony extends eight or ten Leagues about, because the Soil not being equally good everywhere, they were fain to cultivate those spots they found to be good, and which occasion'd them to scatter themselves abroad. The Earth produces here without much Labour, Wheat and other Corn, which yields from thirty to sixty for one. As every Grain shoots up a great many Stalks, they sow here very thin; the Harvest is in the Month of *January*.

The Vine bears Grapes two years after it has been Planted, and that in great abundance without Cultivating, insomuch that in some Places a thousand foot of Vineyard will yield six Hogs-heads of Wine. To speak Truth the Wine is none of the best, being apt to be Green, which proceeds partly from the Peoples not giving themselves the trouble to chuse such Plants as are most agreeable to the Soil and Climate, and partly in that they are not accustom'd to support the Branches with a Vine-Prop. They are likewise wanting in not leafing the Vines well, for as the Soil is Rich, they shoot forth Wood and Leaves in such great abundance, that the Sun is not able to penetrate to the Grapes, and this Conjecture is the better grounded, in that I my self have frequently seen and eaten Grapes here, that

[1] The first party of Huguenots left the Netherlands in July 1688, and arrived in Table Bay in January 1689. Shortly after, the refugees were located at Drakenstein and Fransche Hoek, near Stellenbosch. They were without goods or money, and the board of deacons at Batavia sent £1,200 to be distributed amongst them. Among the names of those receiving assistance is that of Isaac Taillefer, with wife and four children, who is mentioned by Leguat. These families intermarried with the Dutch. The number of Huguenots in the colony is stated to have been at this time one hundred and fifty-five souls. In French edition of Leguat it is "trois mille personnes." (Vide *Cape Quarterly Review*, vol. i, pp. 395, 398.)

have been incomparably better when exposed to the Sun, than those that lay hid under the Leaves.[1]

They have their Vintage about the end of *February:* To this Article I must add, since the occasion presents for it, that the *Company* buys all the Wine at the rate of twenty Crowns the *Legre*,[2] which contains about a thousand *Mingles*, only furnishing the Cask, so that there is none sold out but what comes from them, as is the practice at *Genoa*.[3] The First Offence against this Law is punish'd with a Fine of a hundred Crowns, the Second with Whipping, and the Third with Banishment: This makes the Wine very dear. It is worth twenty *Sous* the *Mingle*, which is near the *Paris* Pint, and *English* Quart. You have likewise in this Country *Ananas*, Water and Land-Melons, Pulse and all sorts of Roots, so that the Inhabitants would have nothing to complain of, were they not incommoded with those bad Winds before-mentioned.

They have in this Country a prodigious number of Deer, many Oxen, Sheep, Roe-Bucks, and Apes. There are also Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Elks, Lions, Tigres, Leopards, Wild-Boars, Antilopes, Porcupines, Horses, Asses, Dogs, and Wild-Cats. But the most fierce of these Animals retire into the Country, so soon as the Countrymen begin to till the Ground. The Lions and Tigres are boldest in coming to search for Prey near the Habitations.

[1] In orig.: "On peut ce me semble juger que ce défaut de maturité dans un païs fort près du Soleil, où on ne connoît ni neige ni glace, doit être causé par les raisons que j'ai dites," omitted by translator.

[2] The Dutch *legger* of wine contains 4 aams, or 126 1-10th imperial gallons. (Theal, *op. cit.*, Pref.)

[3] "The Traffick of Genoua consists chiefly in *Velvets*, *Points*, *Gloves*, dry *Confections*, *Anchovies*, and divers sorts of *Fruits*, but is much decay'd in *Trade;* for tho' some private persons are exceeding rich, yet the generality is poor; the Government monopolises the Trade of Wine and Corn, so that the *Tavern* and *Innkeepers* must buy their Wines out of the Cellar of the State, and the Bakers fetch their Corn from the publick Granaries." (Misson, *Voyage to Italy*, Letter XXXII, written from Genoa, 1688.)

As for the *Unicorn*[1] there is no such sort of Beast. The old and most curious Inhabitants of the *Cape*, are well satisfy'd with it, and he that made *Cæsar's Commentaries* was a Lyar, as well as the rest. The Rhinoceros is the true four-footed *Unicorn*, for there are Fish, Birds, and some Insects, that have likewise but one Horn. I could heartily wish to have seen one of these Rhinoceros's, by reason of the many Fables that are told of that Beast, as well as of the Crocodiles, and a hundred other Animals. My Friends that had seen of them, laugh'd at all the Figures the Painters gave of them, and which are here[2] subjoin'd for Curiosities sake. Certainly nothing can be more Comical, than so many pretended Embossings; all which however is fabulous. The true Rhinoceros has a Hide like to that of an Elephant, and the older he is, the more wrinkled he will be: It is the same with us in that Respect. We may very well affirm that the Rhinoceros has but one Horn, in spite of all the fabulous Relations of those we call Naturalists: This Horn is at the extremity of the Nose. He has a sort of Hair in his Tail that is black, as large as a great Knitting-Needle, and harder than

[1] Unicorns' horns. "There are three or four pretended *Unicorn's Horns* in this Cabinet (that of Manfredi Settala, at Milan); for tho' it be beyond dispute that they are properly no more than the teeth of a certain Fish found in the *Northern Seas*, yet here, as well as in the Venetian Treasury, and other places where they are preserv'd, they retain still the Opinion, that they grow on the Head of that imaginary four-legg'd terrestrial Creature. There are also some *Fossil Horns* exactly like those that grow on Fishes, tho' of a very different matter." (Max. Misson, Letter XXXI.)

"Est bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu exsistit excelsius, magisque directum his, quæ nobis nota sunt cornibus. Ab ejus summo sicut palmæ rami quam late diffunduntur. Eadem est fæminæ marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudo cornuum." (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi, cap. 26.)

[2] The figures of the rhinoceros given in the original illustration which accompanies the text are taken from an illustration used by Father Tachard, before quoted (*l. c.*, small edition, p. 82; large edition, p. 104), which is exaggerated in Leguat's reproduction, and from other contemporaneous works.

Whale-bone. I'll say nothing of Camelions which are common in this Country, unless that it is not true that they live without eating, which we vulgarly call living upon the Air. They live upon Flies, and such like little Creatures.

The ordinary Game here are Partridges,[1] both Red, Grey, and White, and very large and fat Pheasants, Woodcock and Turtle-Doves. On these for the most part the Inhabitants Subsist. The New-Comers to the Colony are forbid to kill any of their Cattle, till they have paid a certain Duty to the Company.

The Oxen are of three kinds, all pretty large, and very swift. One sort have a bunch upon their Backs, another have their Horns hanging down, and a third sort have theirs extreamly elevated, and as fine as I have seen in South-*Britain* about *London*.

Some years before I came to the *Cape*, a Lion[2] of monstrous size had leap'd over into a wall'd Enclosure near the Fort, and having strangled an Ox, carry'd him almost whole over the same Wall to the *Table* Mountain; I say almost whole, because I dare not affirm it was entirely so, tho' I have every body's word for it. Next day they went to hunt

[1] Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel successfully acclimatised partridges and pheasants in Robben Island soon after Leguat left. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 30.)

[2] With respect to the great strength of the lion there can be no doubt. Livingstone writes: "The immense masses of muscle around its jaws, shoulders, and forearms, proclaim tremendous force. They would seem, however, to be inferior in power to those of the Indian tiger. Most of those feats of strength that I have seen performed by lions, such as the taking away of an ox, were not carrying, but dragging or trailing the carcase along the ground; they have sprung on some occasions on to the hind quarters of a horse, but no one has ever seen them on the withers of a giraffe. They do not mount on the hind quarters of an eland even, but try to tear him down with their claws. Messrs. Oswell and Vardon once saw three lions endeavouring to drag down a buffalo, and they were unable to do so for a time, though he was then mortally wounded by a two-ounce ball." (Livingstone, *Travels in South Africa*, p. 139.)

this famous Beast, and having laid a Snare for him, he was taken and kill'd. I have seen his Skin, which was nail'd against a Board as one enters the Fort. There is kept the Skin of another Lion who was found dead, having four Porcupine's quills sticking on it; and of a wild Horse that was kill'd in the Woods. He had no Tail, and was spotted like a Leopard.[1]

The Tigres of this Country are very small, whereas they are exceeding large in the Island of *Java*. The Dogs who tho' never so strong and numerous, dare not pursue a Lion, hunt boldly these little Tigres. When these Beasts can get into any Park, they strangle abundance of Deer,[2] but only suck their Blood, unless they are exceeding hungry.

The *Company* gives twenty Crowns to any one that kills a Lion, and ten to him that kills a Tigre, which has occasion'd many Stratagems to be invented for taking those Beasts.[3] For Example one is, That they tie a piece of Flesh

[1] "On entering the fortress through the Castle-gate (where there every now and then a couple of lion's skins hang up), one comes upon a large courtyard." (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 14.) Valentyn also states: "Captain Olof Berg has told me that he once shot a lion right through the heart, which lion, however, lived several hours afterwards, and dragged itself from two to four hundred paces from the spot and then died. The gentleman followed its track in order to cut it up. Its fat is a splendid curative, and its flesh, like that of other wild animals (tigers, leopards, etc.), is said to taste nice. In the gate of the Fort there hangs the skin of a huge lion with five quills of a porcupine stuck through it." (*Ibid.*, *l. c.*, p. 113.)

"In May 1694 a burgher at Drakenstein was killed by a leopard, and another at Stellenbosch was nearly torn to pieces by a lion. On one day in the following month nine cows were killed by lions in sight of the castle. The premium for killing a lion in Cape peninsula was £5 4*s.* 2*d.* As late as 1702 an elephant was killed just beyond the Cape flats." (Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 7.)

[2] In French text: "Moutons."

[3] "A tax was levied by the Dutch Company under the denomination of lion and tiger-money; this tax was paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rix-dollars for lion, and two gilders for tiger-money; out of this fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itself, and

to the muzzle of a Gun with a brass Wire, and the other end being fasten'd to the Trigg, as soon as the Beast seizes the Bait the Gun goes of, and either kills or wounds him.

Bread here is not worth a Penny a pound, although the Bakers are oblig'd to buy all the Corn of the *Company* in like manner as they are their Wine, their Beef, their Mutton, and their Tobacco. The *Company* for three Crowns gives the Inhabitants a measure of Corn, that weighs a hundred and four-score Pounds. The Price of Beef and Mutton is setled at two pence a Pound,[1] and Tobacco at forty Pence. Soap is sold at eighteen pence a Pound, and *Aqua-vitæ* at a hundred Pence the *Mingle*. Beer is exceeding cheap.

The Slaves, all *Negro's*, are worth between three-score and four-score Crowns a Head, according to the Age and Condition of the Beast. The Crown is worth eight *Skilling* as in *Holland*, and the *Skilling* six *Sous*. The Pound is of sixteen Ounces. The least piece of Money at the *Cape* is a *Sous*, as at *Batavia*.

The Colony I have been speaking of, which is about ten Leagues from the *Cape*, has been frequently augmented, and is almost every day, by a considerable number of *French* Protestants. The *Company* maintains a Minister and Reader for them, and affords them every day some fresh Tokens of their Respect.[2]

when the colonists were much infested by wild beasts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of these animals. At first, government paid sixteen rix-dollars for a lion and ten gilders for a tiger, after which the sum was diminished to ten rix-dollars for a lion's and six gilders for a tiger's skin. But when these animals were so far extirpated that seldom any were to be seen, the premium was discontinued, excepting in case they were brought alive to the Cape, which is hardly practicable. But the tax remained in force, and assumed the nature of a permanent impost." (Wilcocke, *Stavorinus' Voyage*, iii, p. 460.)

[1] By 1714, the price of meat had risen to 3½*d.* a pound. (Theal, *l. c.*, p. 74.)

[2] The Rev. Pierre Simond (of Dauphiné), minister of the Refugee

I was told, if I remember well, while I was with those good People, that the Pastor of this Church,[1] a very honest and sensible Man, was making a new Translation[2] of the *Psalms* in Verse, or at least correcting, to the best of his Power, that of *Marot* and *Beza*,[3] to render those sacred Pages more intelligible, than they were in this Jargon which is now become Ridiculous, Barbarous and Scandalous.[4]

Congregation at Zierickzee (in the Netherlands), was engaged by the Company, at a salary of seven pounds ten shillings a month, to proceed to the Cape. He sailed, with Anna de Beront his wife, from Middleburg, in 1688, for Table Bay, where he arrived four months afterwards with a party of French emigrants. The refugees were located at Drakenstein, Fransche Hoek, and Stellenbosch. (*Cape Q. Review*, i, p. 393.)

[1] The Rev. *Predikant Petrus Simonszoon* (as the Dutch called him) was a man of determined will, who was justly regarded by his flock as a fit guide and counsellor in secular as well as in religious matters. A quantity of his correspondence is still in existence at the Cape. He gloried in having suffered for his faith, and for those of his own religion there was no sacrifice which he was not capable of making. (*Ibid.*)

[2] "The Rev. Mr. Simond had prepared a new version in metre of the psalms of David, which he was desirous of submitting to a synod of the French churches, as great interest had been taken in the work by the Huguenots in Europe. He, therefore, tendered his resignation, to the regret of the Drakenstein people, and requested permission to return to the Netherlands. The Assembly of Seventeen consented to his request, on condition of his remaining until the arrival of the Rev. Hendrik Bek, who reached the Cape in 1702." (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa*, *l. c.*, p. 25.)

[3] *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum Prophetarum argum. et paraph.*, par Theodor Beza, Londinum, 1580.

"The Psalms of Marot and Beza were", says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, "recited by martyrs in the midst of torments; they were the battle-cry of the Huguenots at Courtras; they solaced the wounded Coligny at Moncontour; they were the 'Marseillaise' of the Camisards; they maintained the courage of the 'Forçats de la Foi' in the living-death of the galleys." (Vide *Edinburgh Review*, vol. clxxi, p. 391.)

[4] In orig.: "C'est une chose étonnante & déplorable, pour ne pas dire absurde, & criminelle, qu'on ait tardé si long-temps à mettre en exécu-

When our poor Brethren of the *Cape* had form'd a design in *Holland* to go and settle in that Country, they had a considerable Sum given them for their Encouragement,[1] were

tion le dessein formé en *France*, dans les derniers temps, de substituer enfin une Traduction propre à édifier, au jargon ancien, devenu ridicule, barbare, & scandaleux. La nécessité de cette Réformation est si grande, & si palpable, qu'il faut, pour ne la pas voir, & pour n'y pas céder, ou le travers d'esprit le plus effroyable, ou quelque secrete raison d'orgueil, ou quelque vilain motif d'interêt, ou je ne sai quoi d'incompréhensible."

The necessity of a new translation of the Canticles is pointed out by the author of the *Voyage Littéraire*, p. 54 :—"Je trouvai ce jour-là, au sortir du Couvent des Barnabites, un Livre dont j'ai promis de parler à la page 21. C'est du *Contre-Poison des* 52 *Chansons* de Clement Marot & faulsement intitulées par lui Psalmes de David, faict & composé de plusieurs bonnes Doctrines & Sentences préservatives d'Hérésie, par Artus Desiré (Paris, 1561). N'avoit-il pas Raison de décrier les Pseaumes traduits par Marot, puisqu'il étoit Athée et Manichéen? Il le prouve avant que de versifier. Marot a nié la Providence, en disant :

'Car l'Eternel les Justes connoit bien,
Et est soigneux de leur faire du Bien,
Pourtant auront qu'il n'a ne Soing ne Cure
Des Mal-vivans.'

Au lieu de dire au Pseaume viii—*Tu l'as fait moindre un petit que les Anges*, se Malheureux dict :

'Tu l'as faict tel, que plus il ne lui reste
Fors estre Dieu.'

Donc, fault conclurre par ces Mots que Nôtre-Seigneur Jésus Christ n'est point Dieu."

[1] Captain Symson, in his relation of his voyage to East India in the year 1701-2, aboard the *Macklesfield* frigate, writes of the Cape :—"I do not remember in other Travellers to have found what means the Dutch use to people the lands about their Fort with Europeans, and therefore will add these few following lines. Such as desire to settle there are allowed their Transportation from Holland *gratis*. At their arrival they are allowed to range and view the Country; and having pitch'd upon some place that is not cultivated, they may take to themselves as much of it as they are able to stock or manage for the maintenance of themselves and families; and all the Land they can so possess and improve is intailed on them and their Heirs without paying any Rent or Acknowledgement for the same to the Dutch East India Company, or any other person whatsoever. When any are unable to

transported thither without any Charge, and upon their Arrival had as much Land assigned them as they could Manure. They were likewise furnished with Husbandry Tools, Victuals and Cloaths, without being obliged to pay any yearly Tribute or Interest, till such time as they should be in a condition to reimburse their Benefactors. There was also a considerable Collection made for them at *Batavia*,[1] which Sum was remitted to them proportionably to their Occasions. They took up their Provisions on the prices before mentioned, which are highly reasonable considering the Place: Besides it was a very advantageous thing for them that Slaves were not dear. Moreover, they have considerable services done them by the Natives of that Province, whom the *Hollanders* call *Hottentots*, because they often hear them pronounce that word. For the same reason the *Spaniards* gave the name of *Peru* to that part of the World which they had invaded.[2]

stock their Land the Dutch Governor gives them Credit, 'till such time as they are able to repay him. Notwithstanding this Encouragement, they have a great hardship upon them, which is that they must sell their goods to the Governor, and at his price; so that he runs away with most of the profit arising by their Labour and Industry: for the Governor buys at very low rates and sells to the ships that come in as dear as he pleases; and no man can sell anything to strangers without the Council's leave. Abundance of the Planters are *French* Refugees who have penetrated almost 100 miles up the country." (*A New Voyage to the East Indies*, by Capt. William Symson, 1715, p. 217.)

[1] Shortly after the Huguenot Refugees arrived in South Africa the board of deacons of Batavia sent a sum of money equal to twelve hundred English sovereigns to be distributed among them, according to their needs. The money was distributed in April 1690, and a copy of the list of distribution is in the archives of the Hague. It forms almost a complete list of the Huguenots who settled in South Africa at this period. (*Cape Quarterly Review*, April 1882.)

[2] "In orig.: "Et il y a beaucoup d'apparence que ce fut de la même manière que le pain celeste que Dieu donna autrefois à son Peuple fut appellé *Man*, ou *Manne* (Exod. xvi, 17), soit dit en passant," omitted by translator. "L'on a eu de coustume ordinairement en ces descouuertures du nouueau monde, de donner nom aux terres & ports de mer, selon l'occa-

Our *Refugees* made the *Hottentots* work in their Harvests, Vintages, and whatever else they please, for a little Bread or Tobacco. As they have leave to Hunt, their Victuals cost them little or nothing. Hardly any thing is scarce among them but Wood, and that is of no great Consequence, because the Climate being Hot, they have only occasion for it for the Kitchin. For the same reason they are put to no great expense for Cloaths, the slightest and meanest Stuffs being good enough. They buy, moreover, a great many things at very cheap rates of the Sailors, who touch at the *Cape* from all quarters of the World. 'Tis true, to sell their Commodities they must carry them to the Cape, which as I have already told you, is about ten Leagues from the Colony; but this Inconvenience is not over great, because the way is good and their Oxen will easily travel it in a day.

Every one must easily conceive there are no beginnings without Difficulties, and our honest Countrymen did not meet with a few at first, but then they were charitably reliev'd, as I have already observ'd, and at length God was pleas'd so to bless their Labours, that they are at present perfectly at ease, nay, some of them are become very Rich.

In some parts of the *Cape* the Landskips are wonderful fine, especially where our new Inhabitants were settled, and the Air is admirably good. Fine and large Rivulets contribute to the fertility of the Soil, which furnishes Wine in abundance, with all sorts of Corn. The little Hills are cover'd with Vines, expos'd to the best Sun, and shelter'd

sion qui se presentoit alors de l'arriuée, & croy que le nom du Peru a esté ainsi trouué, & mis en vsage: car nous tenons icy que le nom a esté donné à toute ceste terre du Peru, à cause d'vn fleuue ainsi appellé par les naturels du païs, auquel les Espagnols arriuerent quand ils firent la première descouuerte. Et de la nous disons que les mesmes Indiens naturels du Peru ignorent, & ne se seruent aucunement de ce nom & appellation, pour signifier leur terre." (*Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Indes*, par Joseph Acosta, 1616, liv. i, p. 25.)

from the bad Winds. Spring-water flows at the foot of these Hills, and waters in its course the Gardens and Orchards, which are fill'd with all sorts of Fruits, Herbs, and Pulse, as well *European* as *Indian*.

One of the *Refugees*, named *Taillefer*,[1] a very honest and ingenious Man, and curious above all things in these Particulars, has a Garden which may very well pass for fine. Nothing there is wanting, and all is in so good order, and so neat, that it may very well pass for Charming. He has likewise a great Yard very well fill'd, and a large quantity of Oxen, Sheep and Horses, which, according to the Custom of the Country, feed all the year without-doors, and find so great plenty of Nourishment, that they have no occasion for Winter-fodder. This generous Man receives and regales all those that are so happy as to come to see him. He has the best Wine in the Country, and which is not unlike our small Wines of *Champagne*.

All this consider'd, 'tis certain the *Cape* is an extraordinary Refuge for the poor *French* Protestants. They there peaceably enjoy their Happiness and live in good Correspondence with the *Hollanders*, who, as every one knows, are of a frank and down-right Humour.

The *Cafre Hottentots* are extreamly ugly and loathsom, if one may give the name of Men to such Animals. They go in Companies, live in Holes or vile Cottages, and have no other care than to rear and feed their Cattle, of which tho' they have great Numbers, yet as I have been credibly assur'd, they will kill none for their Use, but eat such as generally die of Diseases. They are extreamly Lazy, and had rather undergo almost Famine, than apply themselves to any Labour, contenting themselves with what Nature has produc'd of her self. They set great store by a Root that

[1] Isaac Taillefer's name is second in the list of distribution before mentioned (p. 284), and, with his wife and four children, was allotted 720 gulden of Indian currency (each equal 1*s.* 4*d.* English).

resembles our Skirrets.[1] They roast it, and oftentimes make it into Past, which is their Bread, and somewhat like our Chesnut. They eat raw Flesh and Fish, finding them, it seems, better, and more savoury so, than when they are boil'd or fry'd: Nay, they trouble the Kitchin so little, that when they find a dead Beast they immediately embowel him, sweet or stinking, and having press'd the Guts a little between their Fingers, they eat the remaining Tripe with the greatest Appetite that can be.

These People are almost all of that Stature which we call midling. Their Noses are flat, their Eyes round, their Mouths wide, their Ears the same, and their Foreheads low. They have very little Beard, and that which they have is black and woolly. Their Hair is extreamly frizled. They are not born very Tawny, but they quickly besmear themselves so with Soot and Grease, or some sort of Oil, that they become black as Jet, upon which they lay themselves on their Backs expos'd to the Sun, that the Colour may better penetrate and dry in. This Embellishment renders them so noisom, especially when it is hot, that one cannot come near them without being ready to Vomit.

In Summer they go all naked, except that part which the Men put into a Case made on purpose for it, and which hangs to a thong of Leather that is ty'd about their Reins. In Winter they generally cover their Shoulders with a Sheep Skin. They never wear anything upon their Heads. Their Hair is all frizled, greasie, and powder'd with Dust, and, moreover, matted together in Tufts, to each of which hangs a piece of Glass, or some small bit of Copper or other Metal. They pass thro' the lower part of their Ears, which are broad and large, a round Stick of the length of an Inch, and much thicker than one's Thumb. About this Larding-pin they

[1] Skirret = *Sium sisarum*, the "siser" of Varro and Columella, a plant abundantly cultivated in Europe at the present day. (*Vide* Pickering, *Physical Hist. of Man*, p. 397.)

hang Shells and such like Toys as they wear in their Hair, which, as you may imagine, occasions a pretty Jingling, such as their Horses likewise make with the same Materials. Strange that these sordid Creatures that live like Hogs should have any notion of Ornaments! In truth they have no Religion, yet I have been told they have certain mysterious Ceremonies, which seem to denote their having some Idea of a sovereign Being. I have many times seen them dance and clap their Hands, looking towards the Moon,[1] which I know they salute at certain Seasons, from her *New* to her *Wane*. It seem'd to be a kind of Worship they pay'd that Planet. However, it might be only a simple demonstration of Joy, on account of the Light that it brought them.

Some take for a sort of Circumcision what the Mothers do to their New-born Males, whose right Testicle they always tear away with their Teeth and eat it, but I rather think they do so to render those Children more nimble and proper for Hunting. However it be, this is the general practice of the *Hottentots*[2] at the *Cape*. After these barbarous Mothers have thus maim'd their poor Children, they

[1] "When the New Moon begins first to be discerned, they commonly in great Companies, turn themselves towards it, and spend the whole night in great joy, with Dancing, Singing, and Clapping of Hands." (Ogilby, *l.c.*, p. 595.)

[2] Leguat's account of the Hottentots seems to follow very closely that published by Dr. O. Dapper in Dutch, in 1668, and followed by Ogilby in his *English Atlas*, vol. i, p. 591:—"Their food consists generally of onely a sort of round roots of the bigness of Turnips, digg'd out of the Rivers and other places, and then boyl'd or roasted to eat. They kill no great Cattel, but such as either by sickness, lameness or age are unfit to follow the Herd; nor any Sheep except at a Wedding. They are utterly ignorant in all sorts of Cookery, and therefore fall upon dead Cattel like Dogs, eating it with Guts and Intrails, the Dung only thrust out; and when they can find no defunct Beast, they look out dead Fish on the Shore; as also Snails, Caterpillars, and Muscles." (Cf. Dapper, French edition, p. 387.)

An illustration is given in the original of a Hottentot man, in his

give them Sea-water to drink, and put Tobacco in their Mouths, believing these two things, in conjunction with what was before done, would render them so robust and supple, that they might overtake a Roe-Buck in his full Course.

For all this nastiness they are made use of by the Christians of these Parts, and so for a bit of Bread or Tobacco, may be made to work a whole Day. But then care must be taken of two things. First, rather to promise than threaten them, and by no means to abridge their Liberty[1]; and Secondly, not to give them any thing to eat till after their Work is done, this same Liberty which they are so fond of always enclining them to live at ease, and Necessity being the only Spur that pushes them on to work.

These vile Huts which I have before spoken of, are low and almost round. They are compos'd of Earth, Branches,

summer dress, holding a skirret-root in one hand and the hind-quarter of an antelope in the other. The leaf and fruit of a plant in the foreground is adapted from the *Bananier* figured by Rochefort. (*His. Nat. des Iles Antilles*, p. 225.)

"In kindness and fidelity towards their Neighbors, they shame the *Dutch*, and all the other *Europeans*, because whatsoever one hath, they willingly and readily impart it to others, be it little or much."

"The People which dwell about and near the *Cape of Good Hope* are of a middle Stature, Slouch-body'd, and uncomely of Person; of a Tawny colour, like Mulletto's. . . . The Hair of their Heads in general resembles Lambs Wool, short and Curl'd. . . . . They pull all the Hair out of their Chins, and daub their Faces with Black, and then anoint them with Grease and Tallow, and thereby seem as if they never were washed. Those which dwell close by the *Cape* on the Shore, and come to the *Netherlanders* Ships, presently run to the Cook, Kettle, or Pottage-pot, and anoint themselves with the Soot thereof, which they esteem a Princely Ornament." (Ogilby, *l. c.*, pp. 589, 590.)

[1] In orig.: "car ils ne soufriroient, disent-ils, jamais ces sortes de subordinations inutiles qui au lieu de servir à maintenir la justice & la paix dans la Société (ce qui est le vrai & ancien but de ceux qui ont établi les Dignitez & les Charges publiques) y autorisent en quelque manière la tyrannie & le brigandage," omitted by translator.

Leaves, and so ill built, that the Rain never fails to pour in on all sides. Their Fire is in the middle, and they lie all about higledy pigledy in the Ashes. I will not affirm that the two Sexes are always chast there, but 'tis certain these Barbarians, as barbarous as they are, profess not only to confine themselves within the Bonds of Marriage, but also to punish Adultery severely. They cudgel all those to Death, that have been taken in the Fact, as they likewise do Thieves and Assassins. I have read somewhere, that they cut off one Joint of the little Fingers[1] of their Women, when they offer'd to remarry, and so continu'd to do Joint by Joint where they marry'd several Husbands; but Persons worthy of Credit, that had liv'd among them divers years, assur'd me the thing was somewhat otherwise, for that they cut off only one Joint of the Women's little Fingers when they first marry'd, and which was done in token of their Subjection. The Men may take several Women, but for the most part they have but one, especially about the *Cape*. The Wives have somewhat yet more ugly and more forbidding Phyz's than their Husbands, for over and above that they are to the full as black and nasty as they, they have moreover the loathsom Custom to wear several rounds of raw Guts about their Necks and Legs in lieu of Necklaces and Garters, which being green and corrupted, stink abominably.[2]

They wear likewise Cockle shells, and bits of Coral and

[1] "When a Man or Woman dies, all the Friends to the third degree of Consanguinity must, by an ancient custom, cut off the little Finger of their left Hand, to be bury'd with the Dead in the Grave; but if the Deceased had in his Life any Cattel, and leaves some Relations to whom they might come by Inheritance, they must cut off a Joynt from each little Finger before they can take the Cattel; for the Sick cannot give away the least thing on his Death-bed, from those to whom it falls by inheritance." (Ogilby, *l. c.*, p. 593.)

[2] "Many of them wear as an Ornament, the Guts of Beasts, fresh and stinking, drawn two or three times one through another, about their Necks, and the like about their legs." (Ogilby, *l. c.*, p. 591.)

Glass fasten'd to their Hair and Fingers, and large Ivory Rings about their Elbows.

But what is yet more frightful, is their Necks; they seem to have two long, half-dry'd, and half-fill'd Hoggs Bladders hanging at them. These nasty Dugs, whose Flesh is black, wrinkled and rough as Shagreen, come down as low as their Navels, and have Fillemot[1] Teats as large as those of a Cow. In truth these swinging Udders have this commodious in them, that you may lead a Woman by them to the Right or Left, forwards or backwards as you please. For the most part they throw them behind their Shoulders to suckle their Child, who is slung upon their Backs. Notwithstanding all this, the vanity of these ugly Witches is incredible. They fancy themselves the finest Women in the World, and look on us from top to bottom with their Hands to their Sides disdainfully. 'Tis said, they are of a strange Temper, and that at certain times have a Madness come upon them, during which they emit as strong a Vapour from their Bodies, as those of a Hind in Season. They wear a sort of Petticoat which covers them from their Wasts to their Knees, which however is not necessary, since certain Skins hanging from their upper parts like Furbelo's are sufficient to do that Office. Some have told me they had the Curiosity to look under these Veils, and an end of Tobacco procur'd them that Liberty.[2]

[1] In orig.: "un bout feuille-morte."

[2] In orig.: "chose qui ne leur feroit pas nécessaire, pour couvrir, ce que des peaux pendantes en Falbala, de la partie supérieure, déroberoient assez à la vûe des passans. Plusieurs m'ont dit qu'ils ont eû la curiosité de voir ces voiles, & qu'on peut satisfaire ainsi ses yeux pour un bout de tabac."

M. Leguat gives an engraving representing a Hottentot woman without her petticoat, in which the so-called *tablier* is most conspicuous. In the background is figured a *papaye* tree, undoubtedly copied from p. 139 of Rochefort's book on the Antilles, from which so many other representations of plants have been borrowed.

M. de Pagès, who visited the Cape in 1773, remarks:—"Des

Men do not intermix with Women abroad; each Sex has its Affairs apart, and go in different Companies. They neither knew what Gold or Silver was, or had any notion of Money till the arrival of the *Hollanders* at the *Cape*. Their Humanity towards one another, yields in nothing to that of the *Chineses*. They mutually assist each other in their Necessities, to that degree that they may properly be said to have nothing of their own[1]: Their Address in darting their *Zagaye* is singular. This is a sort of Half-pike, arm'd at the end with somewhat that is hard and pointed. They are so exact when they throw this Pike, that they will do it within the compass of a Crown. 'Tis with this they dart Fish, so that they never want any Edible of that kind.

The *Company* has so considerable a Trade with them, that they have almost all their Cattle from them. They bring great numbers of Oxen and Sheep to the *Cape*, and the *Company* gives for each, as much roll'd Tobacco of the bigness of one's Thumb, as will reach from the Beasts Forehead, to the root of his Tail, or else they have for each Beast a certain measure of *Aqua-vitæ*, such as they agree upon. This Commerce is rigorously forbid to the new Inhabitants,

personnes que je ne pouvois soupçonner de n'être point instruites, m'ont assuré la fausseté du tablier que l'on prête aux femmes Hottentotes." (*Voyages autour du Monde*, ii, p. 25.)

M. Sonnerat, who landed at Cape Town subsequently (1774-81), also agrees with M. de Pagès in this respect:—"Le tablier fabuleux qu'on prête à leurs femmes, et qu'on dit leur avoir été donné par la nature, n'a point de réalité; il est vrai, qu'on aperçoit dans certaines une excroissance des nymphes qui quelquefois pend de six pouces, mais c'est un phénomène particulier, dont on ne peut pas faire une règle générale." (*Voyage aux Indes*, vol. iii, p. 319.) In a subsequent note, MM. Peron and Lesueur are quoted as observing in a memoir read at the Institute of France that the *tablier* is found throughout the African tribes to the north of the great Karoo and the mountains of Snewberg; and controverting the opinions of Levaillant and Barrow on the subject.

[1] In orig.: "Et effectivement, la lumière naturelle devroit porter les hommes à en user ainsi," omitted by translator.

who are not allowed to purchase any Cattel of the *Hottentots* in any manner whatsoever, under the penalty of 50 Sous[1] for the first Offence, 200 for the Second, and being whipp'd and banish'd for the third.[2] The *Company* sells every Ox again for 25 *Florins*, and every Sheep for seven, in a manner that without much burdening the Buyer, or running any Risque, they make great Profit.

However ignorant, or rather how bestial soever the *Hottentots* are, they know something of *Simples*, and make use of them with Success. Let one be bit with any venomous Creature, be one Wounded or Ulcerated, or let there be any Swelling of Inflammation, they know how to go exactly to the Plant that will cure them, and administer the Remedy with greater Success than we oftentimes do ours. The Sick that have been brought a-shoar at the *Cape* have often experienced this, and those Wounds that very skilful Surgeons have given over, have in a short time been cur'd by these People. The most ordinary way is to pound the Herbs, and apply them to the Wound, but the Patient swallows likewise divers Juices press'd out of the same Herbs.

Neither this Nation, nor any of the others of the Southern Point of *Africa*, are absolutely without Government. They have even hereditary Chiefs, who may reasonably be call'd *Kings*, because they wear a sort of Crowns as I have been often inform'd by a curious Traveller,[3] who penetrated two hundred Leagues up into the Country. But altho' these Chiefs may have a general Right to inspect the conduct of the People, they seldom make use of it but in time of War,

[1] In orig.: "écus," *i.e.*, crowns or rix dollars. (*Vide supra*, p. 154.)

[2] Ever since 1658 trade between the burghers and the Hottentots was strictly forbidden, and on the 19th October 1697, four months before Leguat's visit, Governor Van der Stel had issued a severe *placaat* on the subject. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 20.)

[3] Possibly Captain Willem Padt, who had been employed in reducing to order the Chainouqua and Hessequa tribes. (*Vide* Theal, *l. c.*, p. 4.)

and then too not always. The Inhabitants scatter'd here and there, form to themselves certain sorts of little Republicks, where they observe Customs that have in time become Laws. I have already told you, they punish severely wilful Murther, Adultery and Theft. They have divers other usages founded upon natural Equity, which they make use of for conservation of their Kind, and the Republick.

The *Company* for the most part has a good understanding with these different Nations; but as there are some of them that have Wars with the *Hottentots*, Neighbours to the *Cape*, so the *Hollanders*, whose Interest it is to protect them, think themselves oftentimes oblig'd to declare on their side.

As we touch'd at the *Cape* the first time we saw a Detachment of thirty or forty *Dutch* Soldiers, who had been sent by the Governor against five or six Thousand *Hottentots*, return from that Expedition.[1] They had been a hundred Leagues up in the Country, and had defeated an Army of 8 or 10,000 Enemies. As soon as the Muskets had laid some few upon the Ground, the rest began to parly, and promis'd to live peaceably. The *Dutch* took above 10,000 Oxen from them, but restor'd them again and gave the *Hottentots* withal some Tobacco and Brandy to convince them that this was a Peace without fraud.

I will here add two or three things more concerning this People: They have no use of Reading, and consequently of Writing. Some Relation which I remember to have read, speaks of them as if they were Astrologers, but then their Astrology must be no great matter, at least I'm assur'd that they make no Division of Time, nor distinguish either by Weeks, Months or Years. The greatest part of those that are Neighbours to the *Cape*, have learnt to speak *Dutch*.

[1] In December 1696, Ensign Schryver had been sent with thirty soldiers and twenty burghers against the Grigriqua tribes on the banks of the Elephant river; one of many similar expeditions. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 6.)

When they make Merry, their Cries or Howlings serve them for Songs. They Laugh sometime like to split their Sides, and their Dances are grotesque and indecent, altho' the women do not mix with the Men, but Dance by themselves.

I have often observ'd young People among them, making Love after an extraordinary gallant manner. The Lover approaches his Paramour, who expects him either sitting or standing, and without saying a word to her, presents Smiling the second finger of his Right Hand just over against her Eyes, as if he would tear them out. After he has mov'd his Finger about for a quarter of an Hour, Laughing all the while, from one Eye to another, he suddenly turns his Back, and goes away as he came. Their Marriages are without Ceremony.

Sometimes they assemble by Dozens or Twenties, and squat down upon their Heels without touching the Ground any otherwise. The Circle being thus form'd, a Pipe of Tobacco goes round, and every one takes a whiff till the Pipe is out. I never observ'd that this good Fellowship was ever interrupted by any Quarrel, and to say true, they are by no means Mutinous. They feed, lie, and live together like a Herd of Oxen and Cows, doing like them the ordinary functions of Nature with all manner of Simplicity. As Avarice is no reigning Passion among them, and all that come to Want are immediately reliev'd by the rest, it seldom happens that any of them mind Stealing, so that the Christian Inhabitants let them come and go without fearing to lose any thing by them.

There are at the *Cape* a great number of *Negro's* that are brought from *Madagascar*, *Ceilon*, and other Islands. Those among them that are Slaves, go almost Naked, and are treated as you have heard; but other that are free, have Horses and Coaches.[1] They say they worship one only God,

[1] In orig.: "mais ceux qui sont libres ont des maisons à eux, & sont

Creator of all Things, and that they likewise have a great Veneration for the Sun and Moon, as his two chief Ministers, whose principal Commission is to vivify the Earth, and all the Inhabitants that inhabit it; but this Adoration is Secret and Interior. They have neither Images, Ceremonies, nor any other manner of sensible Worship; and admit no other Law than that of Nature. If they Feast and Dance at the renewing of the Moon, it is not to show any respect for her, but like the *Hottentots*, to rejoice at the return of the Light. In a word they are perfect Deists, whereupon I can't forbear taking notice by the by, tho' against the common Opinion, that there is no real difference to be made between these People, and those we call Atheists, since the indolent God of the Deist is no God, and that herein they are less Orthodox than the wicked Spirits, who have a juster Idea of the Divine Being.

Moreover to say that we worship God without loving him, without fearing him, without asking any thing of him, or expecting any thing from him; without caring for him in any manner what soever, is properly speaking to have no God at all, and to have no God is to be an Atheist.

When these Negro-Slaves obtain their Liberty[1] it is a fatal Happiness for them, for whilst they are Slaves those that have Authority over them, take care to instruct them in Religion, and teach them to Read and Write, which the *French* Refugees above all employ themselves about with a great deal of Earnestness; but when they become free, while they are young, they become at the same time Libertins. It

habillez." "Horses and Coaches" must be misprinted for "Houses and Clothes".

[1] Many of the English ships which put into Table Bay at this time were engaged in the slave trade between the West Indies and Madagascar. Again, Dutch people proceeding home from Ceylon and Batavia often took slaves with them, who were left at the Cape. These last were treated as free persons, and sent back to their own countries. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 50.)

seems to me likewise desirable, that the same care were taken of those *Hottentot* Children who are most conversant with the Inhabitants of the *Cape*.

Shall I remember the Reader, before I leave the *Cape*, that the Continent was discover'd by *Barthelemi Diaz*, a *Portuguese*, in the year 1493 ?[1] He had undergone a prodigious Tempest before he got a-shoar, whereupon he told his Master, (John II) at his Return, that he had nam'd this Territory the *Cape of Torments*, to which the King reply'd, *After a Storm comes a Calm*, therefore you ought to have call'd it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

After we had refresh'd our selves here for near a Month, we departed the 8th of *March*, 1698, and sail'd directly for *St. Helena*, an Island, as it is well known, belonging at present to the *English*.[2] We got sight of it on *Easter* Day. It seem'd to us extreamly high, and almost inaccessible on that side that presented it self to our View.[3]

In a word it is on that side environ'd with extraordinary steep Rocks even to the Sea shoar. About a quarter of a League to the Southward, you discover at a distance a Mountain of white Stone,[4] on which nothing grows; you see there an infinite number of Birds[5] that I have formerly spoken

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 30.

[2] St. Helena had been captured by the Dutch in 1673, and retaken by Sir Richard Munden in the same year. The governor of the island at this time, 1698, was Captain Stephen Poirier.

[3] "St. Helena, from its position in the South Atlantic Ocean, lies in the strength of the S.E. trade wind, and is usually sighted by ships at a distance of sixty miles, rising like a huge fortress, with precipitous sides of 1,000 feet. These rampart-like cliffs are intersected with ravines, but the island is almost inaccessible except by two or three openings to leeward, at James' Town, Rupert's Valley, and Lemon Valley."

[4] "The mountain of *white* stone ("pierre sèche", in the original French) is the curious rock called Lot, a pinnacle which rises up prominently in the extinct crater-valley of Sandy Bay, portion of the great disintegrated dike of a fine hard crystalline greystone which extends four miles." (*Vide* Melliss's *St. Helena*, p. 50.)

[5] "Birds." In orig.: "ces Fous & de ces Frégates."—Noddies and

of: We Landed at the Fort built not long since on the shoar, at the foot of a Rock.[1] It formerly stood on a steep Eminence, to which you were oblig'd to mount by Stairs, like a Ladder, for a considerable while, which could not likewise be done without some Danger. There are two places on this side where one may cast Anchor, the best was that where we were, as well on account of the Bottom, which was very sound, as by reason of excellent fresh Water which falls from a Mountain hard by.[2] On this side, as I've already observ'd, there is no plain Ground, for the Mountain whence the Water Springs begins at the brink of the Shoar. This Mountain appear'd to us at a distance altogether barren, but when we came near it we perceived it had some Trees a-top.

The other Road[3] is not near so good, but to make you amends when you get a-shoar, you come into a fair Plain, where every thing that is sow'd thrives admirably well.

This Island lies almost in the 16th Degree of Southern Latitude, and is about six Leagues in Compass. The Air there is very good, and the Heats of the Sun are temper'd by refreshing Winds, in like manner as the Drought of the Soil is render'd fertile by the great Dews, and small Showers that fall frequently there. Fruit-Trees, Pulse, Herbs, and all the Plants which the *Portugueses* brought thither soon after their discovery of this Island, thrive there wonderfully well, and are to be found every where in great Abundance. Orange-Trees, Citron-Trees, Pomegranate-Trees, Ananas, Banane-Trees, Vines, Melons, Rice, Peas, Beans, Radishes, Turnips, etc., with all sorts of Corn. These same *Portugueses* took, likewise, care to transport thither all kinds of Cattle,

Frigate birds. The former Terns are yet numerous, and breed, with the Tropic bird, on the cliffs: but the Frigate or Man-of-War bird has nearly disappeared, and no longer breeds in the island, although a certain cliff is still denominated Man-of-War Roost, where they formerly frequented. (Cf. Melliss, *l. c.*, p. 97.)

[1] At Banks' Fort, under Sugar Loaf.

[2] James' Valley.

[3] Rupert's Valley.

which have since exceedingly multiply'd, such as Bulls and Cows, Goats, Sheep, etc. The Horses are become very Wild.[1] You find there, moreover, Partridges, Turtles, and divers other sorts of Game.[2] The Sea furnishes a great deal of good Fish, and we may say the few Inhabitants of this Island might live much better, and more at ease, were it not for a prodigious number of Rats that spoil their Fruit and Corn.

After having taken on Board the Refreshments that were necessary, we set sail with a favourable Wind the 26th of *April* about Noon, but did not lose sight of the Island till we were got eight or ten Leagues off. We contemplated with a great deal of Pleasure the assembled Mass of these steep Rocks in the midst of a vast extent of Ocean, whose impetuous and terrible Waves seemed to have a mind to absorb it every Moment.

Some few days after we found our selves off of the Island of *Ascension*,[3] which is in seven Degrees and a half of the same Latitude,[4] but we did not design to Land there, and so steer'd on.

[1] Island-bred ponies, remarkably sure-footed, are still extant in St. Helena, and number now about 250.

[2] The partridge of St. Helena is probably the *Caccabis chukar* of Northern India. There are also pheasants, which were abundant even in 1588, when they are mentioned by Cavendish. The only indigenous peculiar bird is the Wire-bird, *Charadritis*, a species of rail. In the French edition Leguat also mentions "pintades", guinea-fowl, and "tourterelles", turtle doves, the latter called "Turtles" in the text. (Cf. Melliss's *St. Helena*, p. 95.)

[3] Ascension is the next island spot in the midst of the Atlantic, in 8° lat., and its highest peak, called Green Mountain, is visible at the distance of sixty-five miles. The island is now possessed by the Admiralty, and used as a sanatorium and depôt for the West Coast of Africa. The best description of it is that written by the wife of Dr. Gill, the well-known Astronomer Royal at the Cape, after the *Mars* expedition of 1877.

[4] In orig.: "mais nous ne l'aperçumes point," omitted by translator.

This Island has neither Water,[1] Plants, nor any other Quality that can invite any body to inhabit it. It is all cover'd over in a manner with divers sorts of Birds, whose Flesh is exceeding ill-tasted, and very unwholsom. Their Eggs are good enough.[2] One sometimes goes a-shoar there to catch Tortoises, which are very plentiful, and a great Refreshment to the Ships.

We repass'd the *Line* with a good Wind, as we did at first, without being oblig'd to pull off our Cloaths on account of the Heat. We have experienc'd much hotter Weather in other parts. This depends on the condition of the Air.

I observ'd also that our Water, no more than our other Provisions, receiv'd no manner of Alteration in traversing all that *Torrid Zone*, which by no means agrees with what divers Travellers have writ on that Subject. Altho' each Ship of our Fleet had two Men that were hir'd to make every day the Sea-Water fresh, yet we found that Water so maukish, that the best use we made of it was to give it to our Animals,[3] and to boil our Meat with it.

After some few more days Sailing we came to a flat Shoar, where the Sea[4] was all cover'd with floating Weeds, whose

[1] Stavorinus (*l. c.*, i, p. 191) says that Ascension affords fresh water. A limited supply of fresh water is now obtained by certain drip-tanks on the sides of Green Mountain, whose summit, 2,818 ft., arrests some moisture from the trade clouds that drift past on the upper surface of the trade wind. What Leguat notices about Ascension was merely hearsay, as he did not sight the island.

[2] Innumerable noddy-terns and boobies frequent part of the island, where their nests and eggs are found in abundance. From the noise and multitude of the birds, this locality has long been known as Wide-awake Fair.

[3] In orig.: "aux animaux, veaux, moutons, cochons, poules, canards, & peut-être s'en servoit-on aussi pour faire cuire la viande."

[4] The Sargasso Sea lies in that comparatively quiet space of the North Atlantic which is bounded on the south by the Equatorial current, on the west and north by the Gulf stream, and on the east by the Guinea current, which flows southward. There are two principal banks, the larger near the Azores, and a smaller one near the Bahamas. The

Leaves much resembled those of an Olive Tree. You always find great store of these Weeds in this Place for twenty Leagues together: Our Pilots had inform'd us of it before They call this Place the Weed-Sea.[1] As we left *Batavia* in a good Season, we met with Summer every where, and our Navigation for seven Months together, till our arrival in *Holland*, was perfectly Pleasant and Successful. We had all along favourable Winds, no Calms, nor no Tempests. But in this the fairest Weather in the World, there happen'd an Accident to us that was like to destroy our Ship and another. The whole Fleet being to tack about upon a Signal the Admiral was to give us, every Ship was preparing to execute that Order, and all did punctually upon the Signal given, except our Ship. While we were bringing about our Tackle, another Ship of the Fleet, that had already tack'd, was coming towards us with full Sails, and we thought it was impossible for us to avoid her. The Officers cry'd out on one side, and the Crew on the other, but for all that our Vessel did not obey, although the Consternation became general, and the Danger was so great and near, that the chief Pilot himself judg'd we could not escape it. The Captain,

situation of the banks of sea-weed varies according to the prevailing winds. Humboldt quotes a description from the *Periplus* of Scylax:—"The sea beyond Cerne ceases to be navigable in consequence of its great shallowness, its muddiness, and its sea-grass. The sea-grass lies a span thick, and is pointed at its upper extremity, so that it pricks."

The *sargassum* (*fucus natans*), or "gulf-weed", which forms this weed-sea, first discovered by Columbus, inhabits the tropical and adjacent seas of both hemispheres, and the genus includes many local species. In the Sargasso Sea plants have shorter leaves, the branches more contracted, and the bristles of the air-vessels broken off shorter than those of the Indian Ocean. The genus *sargassum* is the most highly organised of the *melanospermeæ*, or olive-coloured sea-weeds possessing root, stem, branches, leaves, air vescicles, and distinct organs of fructification. (*Vide* Miss Merrifield's paper, *On Gulf-weed*, in *Nature*, xviii, p. 709.)

[1] In orig.: "C'est une espèce d'Algue que l'agitation des flots détache des Rochers," omitted by translator.

however, did not lose his presence of Mind, which was so necessary on such Occasions. He caus'd the Ship speedily to be put before the Wind, and the Ship that came against us, running consequently the same Danger, because it was of the same Bigness, we manag'd our Tackle so successfully that we luckily avoided each other, which was the greatest chance in the World: We then began to search into the Cause that had hinder'd the Ship from obeying the Signal, and we found it had been occasion'd by the negligence of a Sailor that was at the Helm, who had not put the Whip-staff on that side it should have been. This happen'd either by reason he had not heard the word of Command, or had slighted it, or that he had drunk too much *Araque*. The Sub-Pilot,[1] whose business it was to give the word of Command, was very much blam'd, for that he should have gone himself to see whether the Sailor had obey'd Orders. See how it oftentimes happens that you are at the very brink of Danger when you least think of it.

Some days before we arriv'd upon the Coast of *Ireland*, we observ'd the Sea seem'd at a distance extreamly swell'd, which gave us reason to believe there had been bad Weather in those Parts, and which was indeed true, for our Vice-Admiral, who had set sail two days before us, had undergone so great a Tempest, that he had lost his Main-Mast.[2]

We were afterwards 15 days before we could see Land,[3] by reason of the great Foggs which environ'd us on all sides during all that time. They were so thick that we could not only perceive no Vessel of the Fleet, but were likewise at a loss to see one another upon Deck. To prevent our stragling from one another, we had the Precaution to fire now and then a great Gun Day and Night from each Ship, but by

[1] In orig.: "qui étoit de quart."

[2] In orig.: "grand Mât de hune," *i.e.*, main top-mast.

[3] In orig.: "sans pouvoir prendre hauteur," *i.e.*, without being able to take observations.

reason we did not know what Latitude we were in, we stray'd towards the North much farther than *Dungesby-Head*, the most Northerly Point of Scotland, in sight of which we ought to have sail'd. At length Divine Providence caus'd us to arrive at *Flushing*, 28th of *June* 1698. Our voyage had lasted just seven months from *Batavia*, and the whole course of my Travels were eight Years wanting twelve Days.

A

THANKSGIVING HYMN

Mention'd Page 192, *and Compos'd in the Island of* St. Maurice, *upon the Occasion of the happy News of my Deliverance.*

F. L.

Let us sing to th' Eternal a new Song!
Come! Let us Rejoyce,
In the Presence of th' Eternal!

Let us bless our God,
And make the sound of his Praise Eccho;
For he comes to give Life to our Souls.
He delivers our Souls from Thraldom,
To the end that we may bless his Name.

Our Dwelling has been in an uncouth Place;
Our habitation
Has been in the Holes of Rocks:
The bloody Persecutor has pursu'd our Souls;
He has Trodden our Liberty under foot!
He has buried us alive,
In dark and gloomy Places.
But th' Eternal has deliver'd Us
From the hands of our Enemy!
He has made him a-sham'd
That would have swallow'd us up!
Th' Eternal,
The Rock of Ages,
The Rock of our Salvation,

Has been to Us a safe Retreat
In the Desart of our Captivity!
He has hid us in his Palace
During the bad Weather,
He has been both a Fortress to Us,
And a Deliverer!

Come!
Ye that are his Well-beloved!
Let our Mouths relate his Wonders,
And let them bless him for evermore!
Come!
Ye Inhabitants of Rocks,
Let us Rejoyce with Songs of Triumph!

Our Days had almost fail'd Us:
Our Bones were in a manner dry'd up:
We were become like Cormorants
Of the Desart;
Like Owls,
That retire unto wild Places,
We were lying in the shadow of Death:
We were loaded
Both with Affliction, and Irons.

But th' Eternal has broken our Bonds!
He has strengthen'd our weak Hands,
And our trembling Knees!
He has bid those that had afflicted Hearts,
Take Courage, and fear no more!

Come then, let us praise th' Eternal!
For he is Good.
Let us Magnifie! Let us exalt his Name altogether!
For he has done great Things;
And his Goodness lasts to all Eternity!

The Red *Dragon*, the furious *Dragon*,
That makes War upon the Saints,
Is come down against Us
To devour Us.

We fled unto the Desarts,
To a Place prepar'd by the hand of God:
His Compassion here descended among Us,
And his Bounty has comforted Us.

The profound Gulfs
Have threatened to swallow us up:
The Impetuous Storms
Have caus'd Us to mount up to the Clouds,
And then descend again to the lowest Abyss.
But
Th' Almighty who inhabits in the Heavens,
Has been more powerful than the unruly Waters,
Or the strongest Surges in the Ocean.
Th' Eternal has commanded the Winds;
He has broken the Seas;
He has turned the Tempest into a Calm;
And the roaring Floods are appeas'd.

Th' Eternal
Has made us to traverse securely
The Desarts, and Seas.
He has deliver'd us from the current of Waters
That bore Us away.
Let Us bless without ceasing his Holy Name!
Let Us set forth his Glory!
'Tis a good thing to praise th' Eternal!
He abounds in Compassion;
And his Goodness lasts for ever!

Rocks!
Bless th' Eternal!
Isles!
Bless th' Eternal!
Ocean, Whirl-winds, Waves, Calms, Tempests
Bless th' Eternal!
Mountains, Deeps!
Bless th' Eternal!
Rivers!
Clap your Hands! Praise th' Eternal!
Fish, Birds, Insects!
Whales, Elephants!
Praise th' Eternal!
Heavens, Stars, Moon, Sun!
Men, Angels!
Praise th' Eternal!
My Soul!
Bless th' Eternal!
Let all that is within Me
Bless the Name of his Holiness!

I will bless th' Eternal at all times:
His Praise
Shall be continually in my Mouth.
As long as I breath
I shall praise th' Eternal.
Let us Praise, Bless and celebrate th' Eternal.

Lord!
Thou art worthy to receive
Glory, Honour and Power.
Holy! Holy! Holy!
Is the Almighty Lord God!
To Him
That sits upon the Throne,
And to the Lamb,
Be Praise, Honour and Glory,
And Strength,
For ever and ever!
Amen!

FINIS.

[The above hymn is omitted in the Dutch edition, which is in one volume of 178 pages.]

APPENDIX.

A.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS.[1]

M. Jules Codine, of the Société de Géographie at Paris, has succeeded in partially unravelling the interesting problem as to the actual date of the discovery of the several islands which compose the Mascarene archipelago. Absolute certainty as to this date must remain in obscurity until the Portuguese archives have been more thoroughly investigated.

Tradition assigns the first discovery of these islands to Mascarenhas, but M. Codine remarks that there were several voyagers and notable persons of that name who served in the Indies during the sixteenth century.

Don Joan Mascarenhas was governor of Diu in 1545, and M. Codine points out that as Don Joan Mascarenhas was at Diu throughout the year 1545, it could not have been that administrator who discovered the islands under the tropic of Capricorn in that year. The error of giving this date, 1545, as that of the first discovery of Réunion has arisen from a wrong interpretation given to certain inscriptions on a stone pillar, which M. de Flacourt speaks of and figures in his *History of Madagascar*.[2]

The error of the date 1545 is proved by the appearance of the names of the three islands, *Apolonia*, *Mascarenas*, and *Domigo Friz*, on the chart of the famous pilot, Diego Ribero, in the Atlas of Santarem, under date of 1529.

These islands, writes M. Codine, have on several maps the generic name "*Isles Mascarenhas*". This generic name has also

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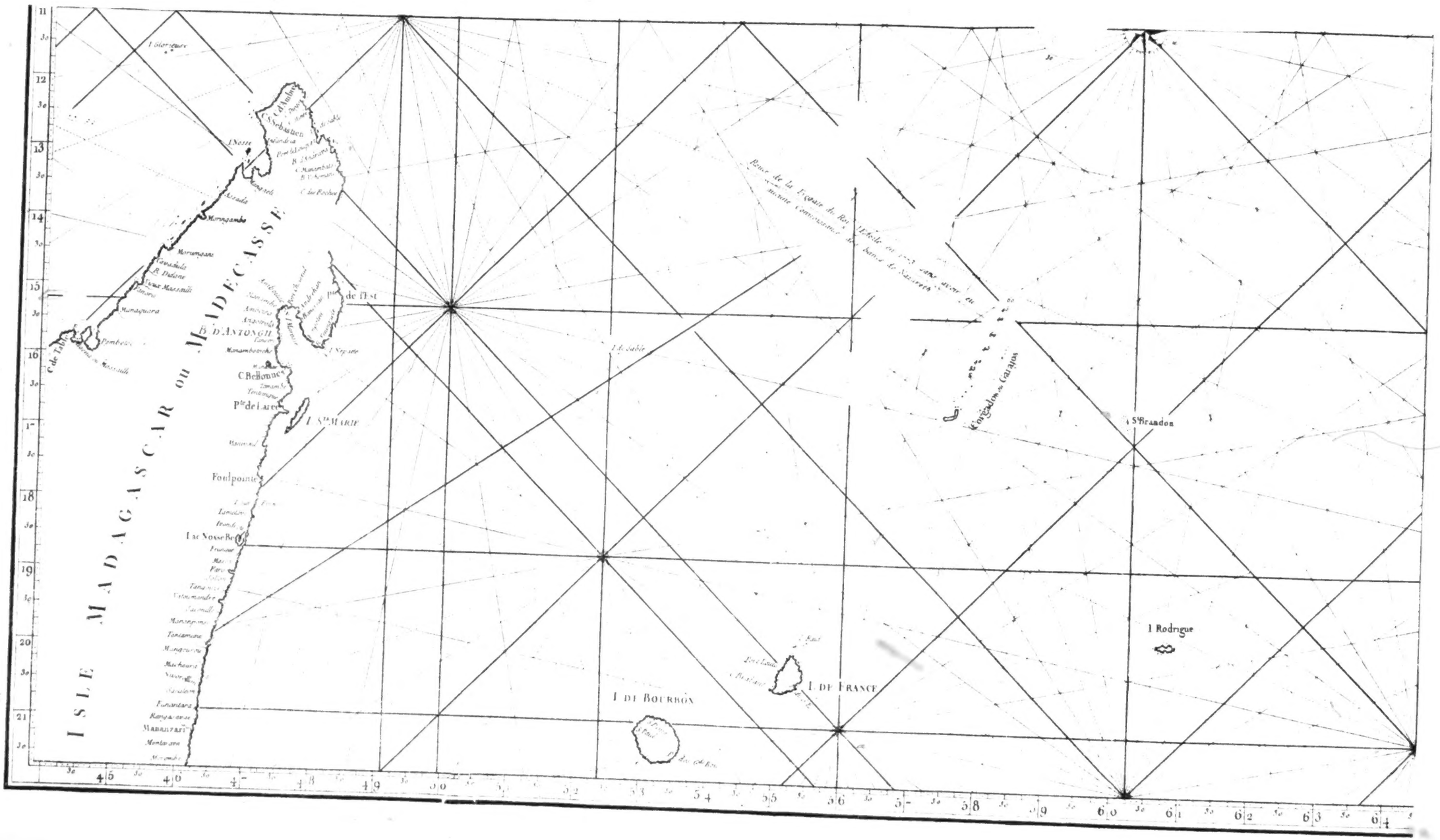
[1] Vide *Mémoire Géographique sur la Mer des Indes*, par J. Codine, Paris, 1868, chap. vii, p. 188 *et seq.*

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 41, and Addendum, *infra*.


ISLE MADAGASCAR ou MADECASSE
B. D'ANTONGIL
C. Bellonnes
Pte de Lave
I. STE MARIE
Foulpointe
Tac Nosse Be
Mahanara
Pte de l'Est
I. de Sable
I. St Brandon
I. Rodrigue
I. DE BOURBON
I. DE FRANCE

been given to some island situated in latitude 5° S., or thereabouts, of which Père Hardouin speaks as being the Columns of Ephorus. In the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a group of islands can be seen, situated to the east of the Amirantes, with the name *Islas Mascarenhas*. There are some technical allusions to these charts in the Voyage of Davis to the East Indies. "On leaving the Comoro Islands (in 1599), the islands of *Mascarenhas* were passed, without fear of the Amirante shoals, and, the navigation continuing favourable, on the 23rd May the Maldive islands were sighted."

There are yet again other islands which have borne the name *Mascarenhas*, as, in the map given by De Bry in 1601, this name is applied to islands placed between Diego-Garcia and the Maldives. The same appears in the map appended to the Voyage of Van-der-Hagen (1612).

Meanwhile, it is especially to the Seychelles group that this denomination has been given, and it is thus that Bellin, on his map of the Eastern Ocean or Indian Sea, in 1756, has designated that group of islets—the *Isles Mascarenhas*. Indeed, Mascarenhas (Pierre?) on leaving Mozambique, could not have taken at the same time the direction of the island Amirante and that of the islands Bourbon, Maurice, Rodrigues. We shall solve the difficulty with the map of Ortelius, in 1570, where these Mascarene islands, situated to the east of Amirante, are designated as *isles de Vasco d'Acugna*; and we find, in Ortelius, Martinez de la Puente saying: "At one hundred and forty leagues to the north of Madagascar are five small islands which *Vasco d'Acugna* discovered, and which bear his name."

Let us admit, then, that the islands discovered by Pedro Mascarenhas are the islands of Réunion or Bourbon, Mauritius, and Rodrigues. . . .

Pedro Mascarenhas arrived for the first time in this sea in 1512. He commanded one of the vessels of the fleet of Garcia de Noronha. This fleet had a disastrous voyage, and arrived at Mozambique the 11th March 1512. A Portuguese ship just come from the Indies apprised the admiral that the Viceroy, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, believed that his fleet was destroyed. Garcia de

Noronha, not judging the season favourable for continuing his voyage, sent on immediately to India Pedro Mascarenhas. The fifteen years which this captain passed in Asia were occupied in his governments or military enterprises, whose success entailed his designation as successor of Henri de Menezes to the government of the Indies. He passed a second time through the Indian Ocean to go to Portugal, and set sail from Cochin in the last days of December 1527.

Was it in this return voyage that Pedro Mascarenhas might have discovered our three islands? That is not probable, for he only arrived in Portugal at a date closely approximating to that of the publication of the *mappa mundi* of 1529, by Diego Ribero. Moreover, this *mappa mundi* bears not only the name of Mascarenhas, but, as well, that of another discoverer, Domigo Friz. This is an indication that these two names date in cartography from a previous epoch; besides, there is on this *mappa mundi* a third name, Santa Appollonia, justified by a *mappa mundi* of 1527—*carta universalis*—preserved at Weimar, where is to be found a copy in the Santarem Atlas, and upon which the three islands bear the generic name of Santa Appollonia.

Excluding, therefore, the year 1528, we are brought back to the first voyage of Mascarenhas in 1512. We have before noticed on what account this captain was despatched from Mozambique to India. In 1507 the fleets which left Portugal about the month of April would arrive at Mozambique in the month of September, at the time when the contrary monsoon was just commencing. First and foremost, Ruy Soares, Commander of Rhodes, was sent to India in a ship commanded by Pero Quaresma. Ruy Soares took his course towards the north close up to Cape Guardafui; from thence he crossed the Indian Ocean, and was driven by stress of weather to Cape Comorin. It is impossible to suppose that, judging from his point of departure (Cape Guardafui), the bad weather had conducted him into the neighbourhood of our islands.

Pedro Mascarenhas, having a similar mission to accomplish, could not, without doubt, on account of the contrary monsoon, proceed north, and he tried, by a chance navigation, a course in

which he knew he should meet with the islands already laid down on his charts, and about which he had probably collected some information from his predecessors. The fleet of Garcia de Noronha arriving at Mozambique on the 12th March 1512, it could not have been until the end of this month, or in the month of April, that Mascarenhas was, perhaps, able to reach two of our islands, as shown him by the chart 10 of the Geography of Livio Sanuto, of 1588, where Bourbon and Mauritius are thus designated: *Mascaregnæ insulæ duæ*, perhaps our three islands, of which that most to the west, Santa Apollonia, had been already known by the Portuguese. In fact, this name indicates that the island which bears it was thus named, either by a ship of that name which had discovered it—and then the day of that discovery would be uncertain—or because the ship which discovered it arrived there on the 9th February of a year which could only be either 1512, or a year previous to 1512, as early as 1506, the year of the discovery of Madagascar.

It was not the year 1512. The fleet of Garcia de Noronha, leaving Lisbon in 1511, arrived, after a bad passage, at the island of Saint-Thomas; the pilot, imagining that he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, took a course to the north-east and reached the west coast of Africa, which they coasted during a month and a half before doubling this cape. The Portuguese historian shows us the fleet, passing, half lost, between Sofala and the island of Saint-Lawrence (Madagascar), and landing, for the first time since its departure from the island of Saint-Thomas, at Mozambique, where it arrived on the 11th March 1512; was there repaired, and when the favourable monsoon commenced, continued its voyage on to India. During the stay in harbour of this fleet at Mozambique, it was joined by that of Pedro Mascarenhas.

Going back to previous years, we can eliminate the fleets of Gonzalo de Siqueira and of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, who, leaving Lisbon on the 16th March 1510, followed the ordinary track; and the fleet of João Serrão, leaving Lisbon the 8th August the same year, since João Serrão, after having coasted along the island of Saint-Lawrence, made a course for Goa, by the north of that island, during which voyage Payo de Sa, on his way to

confer with João Serrão, was driven by bad weather to Mozambique. We can eliminate the year 1509, when, on the 10th March, there departed from Lisbon the fleet commanded by the Marshal Don Fernando Coutinho, who had a mission to put an end to the divisions existing between Alfonso d'Albuquerque and the Viceroy François d'Almeida, who declined to resign his government. We are thus brought to this conclusion: that the islands about which we are discussing were discovered under the government of the Viceroy François d'Almeida.

We take notice of three circumstances when the Portuguese ships could, by the date of their voyage, satisfy the conditions of finding themselves in the neighbourhood of our islands, in the month of February, or in having traversed the Indian Ocean by the eastward of Madagascar.

The three circumstances are as follows. *First*, Diego Lopez de Siqueira sailed from Lisbon the 5th April 1508, and arrived at Madagascar on the 4th August. He employed the end of the year in examining the east coast, and set sail for India, anchoring at Cochin on the 20th April 1509.

Barros states that this captain did not arrive at Cochin direct, but by way of Cape Comorin, and he adds that he only reached this cape with much trouble. It is, therefore, evident that Diego Lopez, not being able, on account of the north-east monsoon, to reach India by the north of Madagascar, directed his course more directly from Madagascar to Cape Comorin, and thus made from west to east a course similar to that which, in January 1506, Fernand Soares had made from east to west. Lopez de Castanheda says that Diego Lopez, on leaving the island of Saint-Lawrence, took his course towards the island of Ceylon.

In this route Diego Lopez could have met with our three islands; meantime, his name is borne on the charts of the sixteenth century, under the corruptions, *Don Galopes* and *don Galope*, which are seen on the maps of Mercator, of Ortelius, of Petrus Plancius, and on that appended to the *India Orientalis* of de Bry, and only applying to the island of Rodriguez; so we conclude that Diego Lopez really discovered only the island of Rodriguez. Perhaps, indeed, he saw it again or discovered it on

his return from India, for when he arranged to return to Portugal and had reached Sumatra, at Cape Cory, learning that François d'Almeida, whose part he had taken against Alfonso d'Albuquerque, had set out for Portugal, and fearing the indignation of the new Viceroy, Maffée says, "he set sail from Travancore, in January 1510, and keeping away from the west coast, he left on the right hand India and Arabia, and passed the Cape of Good Hope." Castanheda says likewise that Diego Lopez sailed direct to the Cape of Good Hope, passing to the south of the Maldives.

Unless we had for the island of Rodrigues other motives for conclusions, yet more valuable than those we have just stated, we should say that this island was discovered by Diego Lopes de Siqueira at the commencement of the year 1509, or at the commencement of the year 1510.

In spite of this consideration, exclusive of every other island, we cannot prevent ourselves from remarking that the 9th February, the day of Sainte Appoline, could be included in the time of this voyage of Diego Lopes, either by Madagascar to Cape Comorin, or from Travancore to the Cape of Good Hope.

The Second Circumstance.—The fleet of Fernand Soares, as we have said, left Cochin in December 1505; arrived incidentally at the Island of Madagascar on the 1st of February 1506. During its passage it would have been possible to meet with our islands; but the 9th February is beyond the limit of the time indicated, and according to the narration of Fernand Lopez de Castanheda, Fernand Soares and Ruy Freirio, who arrived at Madagascar on the 1st February, were still on the south side of that island, which they had not left on the 17th of that month.

Was there a delayed ship which, separated from its consorts, might have discovered the island Santa Apollonia on the 9th February, and again rejoined Fernand Soares on his way to Lisbon? For it should be remembered that Castanheda and Osorius, in their account of the discovery of Madagascar, only mention two ships, that of Fernand Soares and that of Roderic Freirio; although, according to Barros, there should have been three of which he names the captains, and the name of Frédéric Freirio does not appear among them. The silence of the his-

torians does not permit us to fix precisely anything; *but there is here a conjecture whereby the truth may be found*, for the year of this discovery is restricted between the year 1506 by the voyage of Fernand Soares, and the year 1507 by the voyage of Tristan da Cunha.

The Third Circumstance.—The fleet of fourteen sail of Tristan da Cunha and of Alfonso d'Albuquerque arrived at Mozambique in November 1506, consequently at the commencement of the contrary (North-East) monsoon, which prevented him from following his course. We find again a part of these fourteen ships at Madagascar on the 8th December 1506.

Some days afterwards Alfonso d'Albuquerque, next Tristan da Cunha, returned to Mozambique. The dates fail to fix the time that each of them stayed there before proceeding to Melinda, for commencing together their operations. Osorius fixes one useful date; they arrived at Brava "at a time when the wind arose and a fierce hurricane", which indicates the time of the change of monsoon, about the 1st May 1507. If we calculate back, before the 1st May, the time necessary to visit the King of Melinda, and the expedition against the cities of Oja and Lamo, in estimating fully this time at two months, it is seen that we can only follow the Portuguese fleet to the beginning of March. Castanheda says that Alfonso d'Albuquerque left Mozambique in February; and considering the adverse monsoon, the more we dismiss this juncture the more we shall be in the truth. Let us admit, then, the end of February. Until the month of March the Portuguese historians only relate the most important of the cruises of some ships; they say nothing of the less important incidents which are wanting.

Barros mentions three ships, named *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, and *Cirné*.

The ship *Galega* is mentioned (*Décade II*, liv. 7, chapter 2) as having arrived from India at Mozambique in 1512; it had remained there in the impossibility of sailing. This ship was perhaps one of the fleet of Tristan da Cunha.

The *Santa-Maria des Virtudes* was the ship commanded by Jean Gomes d'Abreu. There was again in this fleet another ship, the *Santa-Maria*, commanded by Alvaro Fernandes.

The *Cirné* was the ship commanded by Alfonso d'Albuquerque. His pilot was Diogo Fernandes Pereira, who, in 1503, when captain of the ship *Setubal*, in the fleet of Antonio de Saldanha, had distinguished himself by his numerous captures and by the discovery of the island of Socotora.

In regard to the three names of ships, let us place the three islands of the Indian Ocean which bear them, where they derived the same names: *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, or *Sainte-Marie*, and *Cirné*.

The islands *Galega* and *Sainte Marie* yet figure on our modern charts; *Cirné* is the name which various islands have borne, *viz.*, Mauritius, Rodrigues, besides a little island situated to the north of Madagascar, and which corresponds to the islet called Jean de Nova.

Can it be admitted that there has been in this triple coincidence the simple effect of chance? Is it not, on the contrary, natural to suppose that these islands have been discovered by the ships *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, and *Cirné*, which have given them their names?

Rodrigues is figured on the chart of 1529 of Diego Ribero, under the name of *Domigo Friz*. According to M. d'Avezac, *Friz* is an abbreviated form of *Fernandes*. By adopting the abbreviation for *Friz*, and the alteration *Domigo* in place of *Diogo*, it may be conjectured that the two denominations, *Cirné* and *Domigo Friz*, applied to the island Mauritius and to the island Rodrigues, proceed from the same conjunction of discovery. The ship *Cirné* having discovered both the two, Mauritius had been named *Cirné* from the name of the ship; and the island Rodrigues has been named Diogo Fernandes from the name of the celebrated pilot of the ship *Cirné*.

It can be objected that the ship, the *Cirné*, had on board of her Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the Captain-General of one of the two squadrons placed, until after the projected expedition against the island Socotora, under the superior orders of Tristan da Cunha; that Alfonso d'Albuquerque left Mozambique with Tristan da Cunha, who accompanied him to Madagascar, and that he only left him to return to Mozambique, when he awaited until the

month of March an opportunity favourable for continuing his voyage to the north and along the east coast of Africa.

Indeed, Barros (*Décade II*, liv. 1, ch. 1) furnishes a useful indication. Tristan da Cunha had learnt, without doubt by the information of Ruy Pereira, that the coasts of Madagascar were much indented, that the waters of its harbours had little depth; judging therefore that his ship the *San-Iago*, was too great for the exploration which he projected, he gave over the command of it to Antonio de Saldhanha, and went on board the *Santo-Antonio*, commanded by João da Veiga.

This detail has been brought forward by Barros, because it concerns the principal personage of the expedition; but it is evident that the same measure, prompted by the same motives, would have been taken for the vessel of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the *Cirné*, of which, at various times, there is question in this historian.

From thenceforth the objection which we have raised ceases to exist; and there is nothing impossible in the supposition of some cruises undertaken by Diogo Fernandes Pereira, captain of the *Cirné*.

According to what we have said as to the date of the wintering of the fleet of Tristan da Cunha and of Alfonso d'Albuquerque at Mozambique, it appears that the island of Santa-Apollonia could be discovered on the 9th February 1507.

So, then, if the island Santa-Apollonia was not sighted in 1506, the islands of Réunion, Mauritius, and Rodrigues were, in all probability, discovered by Diogo Fernandes Pereira. Réunion, on the 9th February 1507, and called Santa-Apollonia; Mauritius and Rodrigues at some days' interval from the 9th February 1507. From this year, 1507, dates the name of Cirné given to Mauritius, and that of Diogo Fernandes given to the island Rodrigues under the alteration Domigo Friz.

At the commencement of 1509, Diogo Lopes de Siqueira saw the island Rodrigues, to which his name was applied under the alteration Don Galopes or Don Galope.

In April 1512, Pierre Mascarenhas, provided with information furnished by the preceding expedition, discovered them (the

islands) afresh. In fact, they were again met with by other navigators, amongst others by the pilot, Jean de Lisboa, and by the brother of the pilot, as several maps will show.—J. CODINE.

ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX A.

M. DE FLACOURT'S PILLAR.[1]

M. CODINE notices that, when Flacourt wrote the passage quoted by Du Quesne and Leguat, he is on the eve of undertaking his return to France, and is at Fort Dauphin :—

"Before leaving, I caused to be set up in my garden a large pillar of white marble, which I had brought from the islet of the Portuguese, upon which were cut the arms of Portugal, and on the other side I had engraved the arms of his most Christian Majesty, and on the base these words, which are in this figure. . . ." (Here follows the inscription given in the illustration.)

In order that the explanation of Du Quesne, of Leguat, and of those who have copied them may be plausible, it is necessary that the islet of the Portuguese should be the island of Mascarenhas, which these authors have supposed, having given only a very superficial attention to Flacourt's work.

Yet the islet of the Portuguese is not, in this historian, a vague denomination which can be applied to any locality, and above all, to an island at a long distance from Madagascar, it is a place well identified, situated at a few hours' march only from Fort Dauphin, and of which Flacourt speaks repeatedly, notably in the chapter xxxiv of his narrative, and in the chapter xii of his description of Madagascar. This old governor of the French establishments in that island has given the plan of it, which he has inserted in his work. In fact, the islet of the Portuguese is shown as well in his general map of Madagascar. The fate of the Portuguese who selected that spot as a settlement in 1545, and who inhabited it a little time, is recorded in detail ; and it might

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[1] *Vide ante*, p. 41, and map of Isle Bourbon, Pl. IV.

be said that the islet of the Portuguese is the part of Madagascar best described, and whose position it is impossible to misunderstand. Yet the description of the Portuguese and the date 1545 are foreign to the island Mascarenhas or Mascareigne.

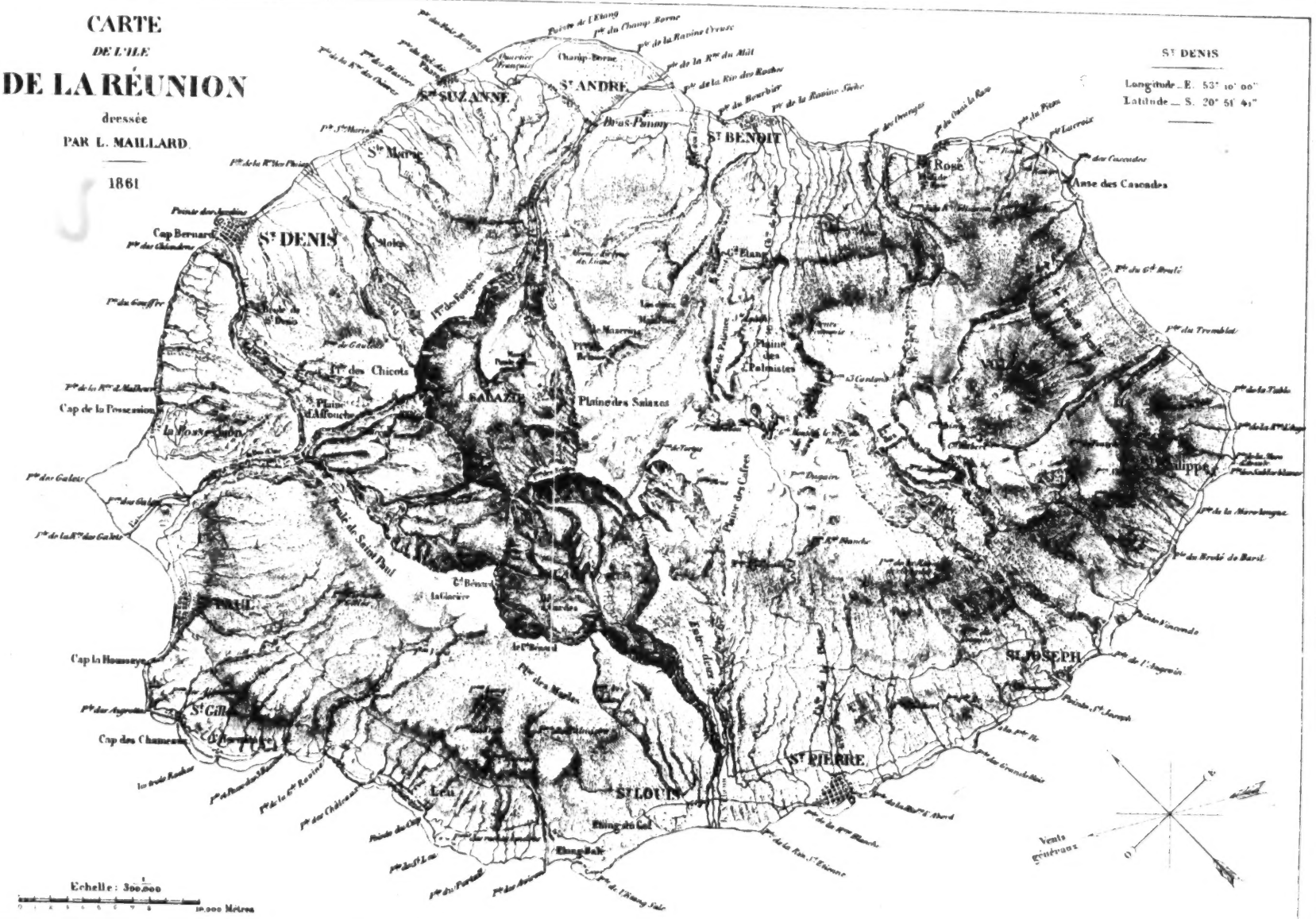
As to the inscription of the French, and the date 1653, the text of Flacourt is quite clear; this stone had been placed by him in his garden at Fort Dauphin. To account for this inscription being made on the occasion of the taking possession of the island Mascareigne, it would be necessary that the date should be 1649, the year of the taking possession by Lebourg, under order of Flacourt, and Flacourt would not have omitted in his story so interesting a detail as that of this stone, in place of simply saying "the taking of possession was fastened to a tree below the arms of the King". But this is only a gratuitous supposition. The date 1653 agrees with the text and meaning of Flacourt. The last words of the inscription, which would be very strange if it had applied to a desert island like Mascareigne, form an incontestable proof of it: "*O advena, lege monita nostra, tibi, tuis, vitæque tuæ profutura; cave ab incolis! vale!*" and Flacourt ends the chapter lxvii by the following explanation of this inscription: "Which I caused to be done to warn the first captains of Christian ships who should come from Europe to beware of treason of this nation, in case on arrival in our absence and that of the ship, and that the French getting impatient should go away to live beforehand inland."

As consequent to this description, we may remark that the vulgar error as to the discovery of the island of Réunion, in 1545, proceeds from the wrong localisation of the stone, of which we have just spoken, at the island of Mascareigne.

In glancing at the plate of Leguat, representing: in the centre, the shape of the island Mascareigne; to the right, the inscription of the Portuguese, with the date 1545; to the left, the inscription of the French, and the date 1653, and the whole on the same sheet, it is not difficult to understand the facility with which the eye could deceive the mind, indeed, without the knowledge of the misleading text, of which the plate is only a material reproduction.—J. CODINE.

CARTE
DE L'ILE
DE LA RÉUNION
dressée
PAR L. MAILLARD.

1861


St DENIS
Longitude E. 53° 10' 00"
Latitude S. 20° 51' 41"
St SUZANNE
St ANDRE
St BENOIT
St DENIS
Cap Bernard
Cap de la Possession
Pte des Galets
Pte des Chicots
Plaine d'Affouches
BAZAZE
Plaine des Sables
Plaine des Palmistes
Rose
Anse des Cascades
Pte du Trembleau
Pte du Tremblet
Pte du Grand Brulé
Pte de la Table
Pte du Brulé de Bard
Pte de la Marc longue
Cap la Houssaye
St GILLES
Cap des Chameaux
St JOSEPH
St PIERRE
St LOUIS
Etang du Gol
Etang Salé
Pte de l'Etang Salé
Pte de la Ravine Creuse
Pte de la Ravine Sèche
Pte du Bourbier
Pte du Champ Borne
Champ-Borne
Bras-Panon
Pte de la Rivière du Mât
Pte de la Rivière des Roches
Pte de la Rivière des Pluies
Pte St Marie
Pte des Bambous
Pte du Gouffre
Pte des Chicots
Pte de la Rivière des Galets
Pte de la Rivière St Etienne
Pte de la Rivière St Denis
Pte de la Rivière St Jean
Pte de la Rivière St Pierre
Pte de la Rivière St Louis
Pte de la Rivière St Etienne
Pte de la Rivière St Joseph

LIST OF BIRDS IN BOURBON, REFERRED TO AT P. 45.
AFTER MAILLARD.

Perruche, *Poliopsitta cana.*
Perroquet noir, *Coracopsis vaza.*
Petite Salangane, *Collocalia esculenta.*
Hirondelle Salangane, *Collocalia francia.*
Hirondelle des blés, *Phedina borbonica.*
Huppe, *Fregilupus capensis.*
Martin, *Acridotheres tristis.*
Oiseau de la Vierge, *Muscipeta borbonica.*
Merle, *Hypsipetes olivaceus.*
Tuituit, *Oxynotus ferrugineus.*
Tec-tec, *Pratincola sybilla.*
Oiseau blanc, *Zosterops borbonica.*
Oiseau vert, *Zosterops hesitata.*
Calfat, *Munia oryzivora.*
Coutil, *Maja punctularia.*
Sénégali, *Estrelda astrild.*
Bengali, *Estrelda amandava.*
Cardinal, *Foudia madagascariensis.*
Moutardier, *Chlorospyza chloris.*
Moineau, *Passer domesticus.*
Tarin, *Serinus ictericus.*
Pigeon marron, *Columba Schimperi.*
Tourterelle malagache, *Turtur picturatus.*
Tourterelle du pays, *Geopelia striata.*
Caille, *Margaroperdrix striata.*
Caille de Chine, *Excalfactoria chinensis.*
Perdrix, *Francolinus perlatus.*
Aigrette, *Herodias calceolata.*
Poule d'eau, *Gallinula chloropus.*
Fou ou Fouquet, *Pterodroma aterrima.*
Hirondelle de mer, *Puffinus obscurus.*
Macoua, *Anous tenuirostris.*
Paille en queue, *Phaeton candidus.*
Courlis, *Numenius phæopus.*
Alouette de mer, *Pelidna cinclus.*

B.

RELATION DE L'ILE RODRIGUE.

M. Alph. Milne-Edwards presented to the Section of Anatomy and Zoology of the French Academy of Sciences, on the 10th May 1875, his *Observations on the Epoch of the Disappearance of the Ancient Fauna of the Island Rodriguez*,[1] in which he announced the discovery by M. Rouillard, a magistrate of Mauritius, among the archives of the Ministry of Marine at Paris, of a manuscript entitled *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, reported to him by Professor A. Newton, of Cambridge, who requested him (M. Milne-Edwards) to make further investigation to fix the epoch when this manuscript was written; for it bore no date or name of author, but had been found bound up in tome xii of the *Correspondence of the Ile de France*, A.D. 1760. Was this date exact as regards the manuscript, and was it to be concluded that from this MS. narrative that the birds in question were still alive in 1760—that is to say, almost after a century from the time that Leguat wrote?

M. Milne-Edwards was able to convince himself that this document was of older date than that of the correspondence with which it was bound up; and, although he was unable to discover the name of the author, he was able to fix the date when it was written. In fact, he found in tome i of the correspondence an old inventory of the reports and letters from 1719 to 1732, enclosed in the files of the office before they had been arranged and bound in volumes. In this enumeration he found mentioned this *Relation de l'île Rodrigue* interpolated between documents dated from 1729 to 1730-31. Its index number corresponded exactly with that now on the *Relation* itself. It is No. 1 of the file (carton) 29. This indication, therefore, enabled him to establish with some accuracy the period when, if it was not written, at all events it was transmitted to the *Compagnie des Indes*. It is,

[1] *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, tome lxxx, 1875, p. 1212.

therefore, posterior to 1730,[1] and it is by mistake that it has become mixed up with the correspondence of 1760.

M. Milne-Edwards also remarked that this Carton 29 originally included a *Délibération du Conseil*, of the 20th July 1725, on the proposed taking possession of the Island of Diego Ruys, *i.e.*, Rodriguez. There is reason, therefore, to suppose, he adds, that, as the result of this deliberation, the Company dispatched one of its officers to study the resources of this island, and report if it was fit for an establishment to be formed there. The report, forwarded four years later, appears to correspond perfectly with the questions of this order for inquiry. The anonymous author of the following *Relation* gives all the necessary information for facilitating a disembarcation; he details all the islets and reefs, and then reviews the animal and vegetable productions, not forgetting the examination of the soil and its arable qualities.

M. Milne-Edwards states that the report is evidently the work of a practical marine surveyor, but not of a literary man, acquainted with the rules of orthography. M. Edwards has not published that portion of the report dealing with sailing directions and economic questions, confining himself solely to the descriptive parts relating to the fauna and flora of the island; moreover, he has corrected the grammatical faults in the original manuscript.

RELATION DE L'ILE RODRIGUE.[2]

There is so great a quantity of fish within the reefs and about them, that if a morsel of food is thrown into the sea, at once some thirty fishes appear, and immediately swallow it up. There are all sorts, of which I proceed to give the names of a few known to me.

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[1] It may be recollected that Leguat did not die until 1735. *Vide ante.*

[2] *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Epoque de la Disparition de la Faune ancienne de l'île Rodrigue*, par M. Alph. Milne-Edwards, in the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles, Zoologie et Paléontologie*, 6me Série, tome ii, p. 133 *et seq.*, 1875.

The shark,[1] among others, is of a prodigious size, and there are some up to twelve feet in length. There are a quantity of small ones of different sizes, which are so hungry, that if a man had the misfortune to fall into the water, they would tear him with their teeth; a proof of which is, that the day following our disembarcation, when proceeding to take soundings, they snatched the oars from the rowers, and gave us a good deal of trouble. We experienced suchlike during all the time we remained in the island.

There is a fish of a size nearly equal to that of the shark, and of the same form, which they call at Bourbon *Endormi*,[2] an appropriate name, for it sleeps in the water. If they wish to capture it they pass a rope around the tail, and haul it on shore; when it awakes, and does not attempt to bite, but tries to escape. The skin is very like shagreen, and of the same colour as that of the shark.

The *Carangue*[3] there is excellent; the largest I have seen was three feet and a half in length. The *Carangues* pursue the other small fish which fly to escape them, and fall afterwards into the jaws of the sharks, who show them no more mercy than the former.

The *Mullets*[4] are in quantity; the largest that I have seen are of two feet and a-half in length. There are many *Rays*,[5] and numbers of some fish they call *Capitanes*.[6] I have taken a fish of the shape of a Lamprey, having the mouth of a serpent, with teeth very sharp; I did not think it prudent to eat it, not knowing it at all. (*Vide ante*, p. 174.)

The *Rougets*[7] are common, besides numerous other fish whose

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[1] *Le Requin. Carcharodon* sp. Carcharias. *Vide ante*, p. 96.

[2] Basking Shark, Cetorhinus.

[3] Cobbler, or Cordonnier Horse-mackerel, *Caraux* sp. A species of *Hynnis* is also called Carangue.

[4] *Mugil* sp. *Mugil axillaris*, etc. The *Mulet roleur* of the Créoles is the best for eating of the mullets.

[5] *Raia* sp.

[6] Capitaine = *Pentapus dux*.

[7] Rougette = *Serranus*. Cardinal = *Priacanthus*.

names I do not know. The Lamantins[1] are abundant, especially at the time they are breeding. I have seen thirty or forty in a herd grazing on the weed, in two or three feet of water. They are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. The females suckle their little ones in the same fashion as a woman; I have only seen them nurse one at a time. They have two kinds of paws or hands, with which they hold their little ones; they have not fins; their tail is large and horizontal when the Lamantin is on its belly. The skin is hard, and nearly an inch thick. The flesh tastes something like that of veal, and the fat is firmer than that of pork.

The sea-turtle[2] is in such great abundance that a quantity of them is found stranded on the reefs when the tide is low, and not at all seasons. It is at the time of their laying and of their *carelage* (calfatage?), that is, of the coupling of these animals, which remain in this manner for nine days; afterwards their eggs develop; but I have not been able to know how many they bear, whatever trouble I have taken. I have only remarked that two or three days before laying, they come to taste the sand, and if they find it good and properly warmed, they come to lay; in this fashion, they dig a hole in the sand where the sea does not reach, about three feet, and there put their eggs, from which, at the end of thirty-one days, issue all the little turtles by the same hole. I have remarked an extraordinary circumstance, which is, that if these little animals are placed at half a league from the sea they always find it; and immediately they reach it, unless they are careful to hide themselves under some rocks, the fish, especially the sharks, destroy many of them. The sea-turtles are caught easily by the hand, and without any instrument, or even a boat; they watch for them the night they come to lay; when they turn them on their back, they remain there. I have seen sea-turtles which laid upwards of 2,000 eggs.

There are crabs of five or six species.[3] I have not seen either lobsters or prawns, whatever pains I have taken.

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[1] *Vide ante*, p. 74. [2] *Vide ante*, p. 72.
[3] *Vide ante*, p. 93.

The islet which we have named (*l'île aux Fols*) Booby Island,[1] is a rock, with its summit pointed, something like a cone of iron, without soil or grass; it may be about a quarter of a league in circumference. This rock is covered with birds, which are called Fols,[2] and which lay three times in the year; these creatures are of the size of a young pigeon; they kill them with stones and sticks. They do not lay from the month of January until April. Their eggs are of the size of those of a hen, and are very good to eat, and even served us as soap for washing.

Diamond Island[3] (*l'île aux Diamants*), which is to the south of the preceding, is almost of the same form, of the same size, and of the same material; there are also (Fols) boobies upon it, who live on fish. There are no land turtle on these two islets.

The two (*îles de sable*) sandy islands,[4] which are to the north-west of the island, are covered during severe hurricanes (*grands coups de vent*), excepting the larger, which is most to the west, which is full of (*Chiendent*) short grass, as well as Shearwaters (*Fouquets*). There are no land-tortoises, either on one or the

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[1] Booby Island, a conical mass of basalt rock fifty feet high, forms one of the marks for vessels entering and leaving Mathurin Bay; it is one mile inside the reef bordering Mathurin Bay. (*Vide* Chart, p. 49; cf. Finlay, *l. c.*, pp. 515, 516.)

[2] *Fols.* "These birds", says M. Milne-Edwards, "are evidently not boobies (*Fous*), but probably belong to a species named *Pterodroma aterrima* (Verreaux), which to this day frequent the coasts of the Mascarene Islands." (*Vide ante*, 82, 178.)

[3] Diamond Island, a similar basaltic rock, is a little more than a mile south of Booby Island, at a cable's length from the headland, west of *Baie aux Huitres*, and forms a conspicuous sea-mark fifty feet in height.

[4] Sandy Island, only fifteen feet, opposite the opening in the reef, *Passe Demie*, and Cocoa Island, south of it, are mere sand-kays, near the western edge of the encircling reef, nearly two miles west of *Pte. de la Pouce*. The name Cocoa Island seems to indicate that cocoa-nut trees have grown there, and the *Chiendent* growing on it is a species of herb, *Cynodon Dactylon*. A low scrub grows on both islands now (*ibid.*, p. 514). The *Ile de Fouquets*, here mentioned, must not be confounded with Booby Island, which is bare rock, but refers to the islet, to the south-east, hereafter mentioned as the *Isle aux Fols et Fouquets*, near Passe Platte (cf. Balfour, *l.c.*, p. 365).

other of these two islands. Frigate Island[1] (*l'île Frégates*) must be nearly a mile in circuit (*un bon tiers de lieue*). There are some trees upon it, which grow, so to speak, in the rock, there being but very little soil. There are some tortoises on it, and it is full of frigates, which lay there twice in the year, and it is the only place where they lay. These frigates are all so lazy, that they perch by day on the trees,[2] at the edge of the sea, awaiting the other birds who go to fish. They make them disgorge ; after an ineffectual resistance, they are constrained to vomit the fish which are in their gullets when the frigate devours it before it reaches the water. But when the largest of these birds are four or five together, the frigates, however strong and agile they may be, do not attack them, and thus they can feed their little ones who wait for them above. The males of the frigates have beneath the throat a red skin, which, when they are breeding, is swollen, and becomes round and as large as a chopine bottle, and red as scarlet, and at other times this skin is quite flat.

The little islet[3] which is to the N.N.E. of Frigate Island is a rock without soil on it, on which there are some shearwaters. There are some land-tortoises, but very few, because the islet is not large.

The little islet[3] which is to the E. of *Pte. du Palmier* is a rock where there are some Fouquets. *L'île Désirée*[4] may have nearly a twelfth of a league in circuit [in copy : *près d'une douzaine de lieues de tour ;* this is impossible ; the writer must have meant *près d'un douzième de lieue de tour ?*]. There is little wood upon it, and tortoises are found there, as well as upon the sister islet, and they are of some elevation.

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[1] Frigate Island is of basaltic rock, 120 ft. high. The Frigate, according to M. Edwards, is *Tachypetes minor*.

[2] Mapou trees (*vide* Balfour, *l.c.*, p. 365).

[3] The little islet to the N.N.W. of Frigate Island must be Catharine Island, 75 ft. high, and the little islet to the W. of Lascar Bay is, apparently, Marianne I.

[4] *L'île Désirée* is the sister islet (*camarade*) of Frigate I., and about half its size.

The great island[1] is, perhaps, about a league-and-a-half in circuit, with very little soil ; there are, nevertheless, some trees on it, almost as fine as those on the main island. There is no water on it in the dry season, nor is there upon the others. It is high in the middle, and its two ends are flat. There is no lack of land-tortoises there.

The seven islets,[2] which are to the south of the main island, are all small and flat, the largest having only a quarter-of-a-league in circumference. Upon the largest there are some tortoises and some small shrubs without water, and they are formed of sharp pointed coral fragments.

Mast Island (*l'île au Mât*),[3] thus called because we found there a top-mast, fifty feet long, which was of pine, and which had never been fitted. This islet is at least a league in circumference, with a little scrub upon it, as well as tortoises, but without water, because it is quite flat, and is almost wholly composed of lime-stone. It is also full of (*Fols* and *Fouquets*) Noddies and Shearwaters.

Noddy and Shearwater Island (*l'île aux Fols et Fouquets*)[4] is one league in circuit ; it is flat, and composed of limestone ; there are some shrubs upon it. The Noddies and Shearwaters are here in great quantity, as also (*Equerets*) Terns.[5] It is covered with the eggs of these birds.

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[1] The *grande île* is now known as Crab Island, which rises, in its centre, 120 ft. west of Coral Point. All these islets are near the main island to the S.W.

[2] The seven small islets include those named Pianqui I. and Misel I., and various small uncovered rocks south of the former. The largest would be Pianqui.

[3] *L'île au Mât*, now marked on the chart as Gombrani Island, perhaps meant at one time as Gouvernail I. This is the longest of all the islets, and now has some huts on it ; at the southern end it rises about twenty feet.

[4] *L'île aux Fols et Fouquets*, now known as Pierrot I., a broader islet than Gombrani, of the same altitude, and with some fishermen's huts thereon, with coco palms. Its modern name, Sparrow I., denotes that small birds frequent it.

[5] *Equerets*, probably *Onychoprion anasthætus*, Edwards ; *vide infra*.

Flat Island (*l'île Plate*),[1] which is to the south of the last; there is nothing on it, and it is also of limestone and very small. There are meanwhile some small birds which live on fish.

Rocky Island (*l'île de Roche*)[2] is thus named because there is no soil upon it; there are, nevertheless, some shrubs which grow on the rocks; there are some tortoises also, as well as sea-fowl (*oiseaux pêcheurs*); it is slightly elevated, and may be a quarter-of-a-league round.

Of the birds which live on fish there are thirteen sorts, to wit:

The Frigate,[3] which, when it goes to fish, which does not often happen, goes to a great distance, 20, 25, 30 leagues away.

The Ox-birds (*Bœufs*)[4] are of the size of a large capon; their plumage is all white, excepting some feathers of the wings and tail, which are black; it has a beak about five inches in length, and which comes to a point at the end, and within it is like a saw. They call it *Bœuf* because it cries like an ox; it often makes a noise with its wings in flying, that one would say it was a hurricane if he continued it as he is passing. They lay generally on the branches of trees, where they make their nests, and the male and the female sit on the egg in turn—for they only produce one egg—while one or the other goes to fish.

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[1] South of Pierrot I. lies Flat Island, at the entrance of *Passe Platte*, one of the several narrow openings in the edge of the reef, which are used by fishermen to get to the deep water fishing-grounds. Cotton, *Gossypium barbadense*, introduced from the wreck of an American ship, now almost covers this islet; also Balfour mentions *Stenotaphrum sublatum* as only growing on Gombrani and Pierrot Islands. *Zoysia pungens* is also noticed as common on the sandy and coral islets on the reef . . . (*l. c.*, p. 384). Such plants also as *Suriana maritima*, *Pemphis acidula*, *Oldenlandia Sieberi*, *Tournefortia argentia*, *Ipomœa fragrans*, *I. leucantha*, *Lycium tenue*, *Myoporum Mauritianum*, specially occur.

[2] *L'île de Roche*, now called Hermitage Island, described by Finlay as small and rocky, stands in the centre of the harbour of Port South-East. The highest point of the south end is 80 ft. high, and one of the Transit stations was established on the north part of it.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 325.

[4] This bird, writes Milne-Edwards, is probably a *Fou* (booby), perhaps the *Sula Capensis*. There is a sandpiper called Ox-bird.

The *Tra-tra* (Booby),[1] so called because it always cries thus, is a bird which is not so large as the *Bœuf*, and has a beak approaching that of the Bœuf; it is of grey colour, a little white under the belly. It roosts and makes its nests in the trees, and sits in turn; but it is in greater numbers than the Bœufs. When they are small they are all white, and the beak all black; and when they are full-grown, they are grey and the beak greenish. The Frigate does not approach them when they are settled on the ground, or on the trees, or in the water, when they defend themselves; and when they are refreshed, they take their flight to go to the spot where their nest is, and scarcely ever make a mistake when they arrive. One sees them come in prodigious numbers, from four o'clock in the evening until night.

The Noddy (*Fol*)[2] is, as I have said, of the size of a small pigeon; it goes to fish at two leagues distance at the farthest.

The Shearwater is of the same colour as the Noddy, but a little larger, and has the beak longer and hooked, like the Frigate. It does not go far to fish, and generally does not go except at night. There are some who affirm that it cannot fly because the light dazzles its sight. I have, indeed, seen them by day fly about without taking their direct way. They are in the holes of the rocks, and they cry like small infants. At night, when they go to fish, I have knocked over many on shore in this manner; when they come out of their hole, and one hears them cry, he must have a dry branch of palm and all of a sudden set alight to it, and when they see the light they tumble on the ground; on the other hand, if they do not see it they continue their way.

There are Hill-shearwaters (*Fouquets de montagne*),[3] but very few; I have only seen them flying, therefore I cannot speak particularly of them; they nest in the holes in the ground and on the top of the mountain.

The Terns (*Mauvettes*) are in small numbers, and do not go to

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[1] *Tra-tra*, perhaps the *Sula piscator*.

[2] Probably the *Anous stolidus*; *vide supra*.

[3] These birds are probably another species of shearwater.

fish at more than a league away. I have not been able to discover where they lay their eggs.

There are many Boatswain birds (*Paille-en-queue*)[1] which are all white, and others of white red. The Boatswain-birds nest ordinarily in the holes of the cliff or in the hollow trees which abound, especially the Benjoin.[2]

There are some Curlew (*Corlieux*),[3] which fish along the shore and at low tide on the reefs, where there remain some pools of water and small fishes. I have not killed any of them, because they do not let one approach them ; on the contrary, when they see people they take their flight, uttering cries.

There are also some birds which they call in France *Equerets*.[4] They are of the size of a pigeon ; beneath the belly it is white as well as under their wings ; the back is black, and the coverts of their wings the same; the beak, two or three inches long, is pointed. They are on the islets which are to the south of the main island, and there lay their eggs.

There is another small bird,[5] which is of the size of a hoopoe, which is quite white, and the back black. They are also on the islets to the south of the island ; they are but few in number.

The bird which we have named *Sentinelle*[6] : it is one in fact, for directly it perceives any one approach, it takes to flight, crying without cessation. It is not possible to approach nearer than sixty paces. It fishes on the bank of the streams and marshes ; it is of dark colour mingled with light grey ; it is a little larger than a hoopoe, and is not in great numbers.

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[1] *Phaeton phoenicurus* et *Phaeton flavirostris*.

[2] *Bois charron*, Terminalia Benzoin, an endemic Mascarene species, occurs abundantly. (Balfour, *l. c.*, p. 340.) Balfour, writing of the *Nyctaginaceæ*, describes the *Bois mapou* as a tree very abundant on a small ledge of coralline limestone, on the west side of Frigate Island, where it is the favourite nesting-place of the *Fou* (*l. c.*, p. 365 ; *vide supra*, p. 325).

[3] Curlew. Courlis, *Numenius phæopus* (*Scolopax phæopus*, Linn.).

[4] *Equerets*, or *Querets*, possibly the *Ferrets* mentioned by Leguat. Probably, says Milne-Edwards, *l'Onychoprion anasthatus*.

[5] *Gygis candida*, Wagl.

[6] *Sentinelle*, a species of Heron ; *Butorides atricapilla*, perhaps.

There are some sea-larks (*Alouettes de mer*),[1] but very few.

The eggs of all these birds are very good to eat, as also their flesh, but it has an oily taste.

The land-tortoise is very abundant. It is not very fat, owing to the great number of them and the dearth of grass; it eats leaves and the fruit of the trees, which the wind causes to drop on the ground. There are tortoises of three species, and the largest which I have seen are from three feet to three feet eight inches in length of shell. They are not so common in the heights as in the ravines, on account of the dearth of water in dry seasons.

The island is, as I have said, mountainous on the east side and in the middle; but on the west side it is flat. The mountains are intersected by valleys and ravines, which have a winding course of a league within the mountains, and which widen towards the sea-coast, on which account the fresh water, in the dry seasons, is lost before reaching the lower end, and there is no water but above in the pools. There is very little cultivable soil; all the ravines which are around the island share in it, some more, others less; and of almost all these recesses, there are scarcely any but are inundated by fresh water, and sea water in the hurricane season. It would be possible, however, to prescribe limits to the sea and prevent it coming within these localities with a little trouble. The most considerable of these valleys, in the first place, is half-a-league to the west of the Pointe du Sel, which has perhaps about fifty *toises* in area. The soil in this locality is about five feet in depth.

The large valley has, perhaps, about thirty to forty square toises of good soil; the sea comes up very far in high tides, gâles, and hurricanes.

The habitations of François Leguat[2] may have about forty toises square. I speak of square, although the ground is not so; it is only the estimate that I make. Quite close to the settlements which I have just named is a flat piece of land to the south of a sandbank, which is near the settlements.

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[1] *Alouette de mer*, a term applied to all small sea sandpiper or plover, so called.

[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 50, 64.

[*Here follow details on the localities where cultivable ground exists.*]

Large timber is not common in Rodrigue island, for the finest are not more than fifty feet high, and most of them are not straight. I here give their names as they are called in Bourbon, and commence with those which are in the greatest number, to wit :—

Bois rouge,[1] which is very large, but it is not high, and bearing branches fit to make ships' timbers (*membres de vaisseaux*, perhaps *membrures ?*).

Bois puant[2] is neither large nor high, but throws out its branches below; then, growing upward, it forms an agreeable shade. This is the wood most fit for making the ribs of ships. I have seen one of these trees cover with its branches nearly sixty paces of ground.

Benjoin[3] is in large numbers, and exudes gum like that of île Bourbon. The largest which I have seen are from forty to fifty feet in length, and two fathoms and a half in circumference; but these are rare, considering that they are for the most part twisted, and rotten at the heart, whilst there are plenty of other small Benjoins, which grow even in the rocks.

There are numbers of trees which they call *Affouche*[4] (*Affourché ?*). These have no trunk, and are full of strong branches: they have a gum, white as milk.

There is a large quantity of *Bois d'chêne*,[5] about thirty to forty feet high, and one fathom and a half in thickness (in circumference ?).

There is a little *Bois de fer*[6]; it is neither high nor straight, and is not found everywhere.

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[1] *Bois rouge*, probably the *Bois d'olive rouge* (Elæodendron orientale) (*Balfour*, p. 334.)

[2] *Bois puant*: the modern *bois puant*, is the *Fatidia mauritiana*. (*Balfour*, p. 341.)

[3] *Benjoin*. Terminalia mauritiana.

[4] *Affouche*. *La fouche rouge*, or *La fouche petite feuille*. Ficus rubra, var. amblyphylla. (*Balfour*, p. 368.)

[5] *Bois d'chêne*. Diospyros diversifolia. (*Balfour*, p. 355.)

[6] *Bois de fer*. Eugenia cotinifolia. (*Balfour*, p. 341.)

Bois de senteur[1] is here in small quantity.

Bois de Neff[2] is found in great numbers, and more commonly on the mountains than elsewhere; it is not large, and is all twisted.

A tree is found which they call, at Bourbon, *La Face de Judas*,[3] in small quantity.

The *Bois de Buis*[4] is common here, and very small; the parrots eat its seeds.

There is not much *Bois de pomme*,[5] and it is good for nothing.

There are some *Bois de Renette*,[6] which are small tufted shrubs, the highest of which may be four or five feet.

There are very few trees fit for building; some rafters of moderate-sized houses and some poles, and they are not very straight.

There are *Lataniers*[7] throughout the island, and more frequently in the valleys and in the ravines; there are three sorts.

The *Palmistes* are in greater quantity than any one of the other trees, as well as the Lataniers; both one and the other are everywhere.

There is another species of *Palmiste*, which they call at Bourbon *Palmiste-poison*.[8]

A quantity of small trees is found, which they call at Bourbon *Pins*,[9] with which they make mats and bags. These trees are in height about ten feet, and which form a round parasol (*par en haut*), which they seem to have shaped expressly, for one leaf does

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[1] *Bois de sentier*. Modern *Bois senti*, *Scutia Commersonii*. (*Balfour*, p. 334.)

[2] *Bois de Neff*, or Bois de Nefle; Labourdonnaisia revoluta.

[3] *La face de Judas*. Professor Balfour cannot identify this tree.

[4] *Bois de Buis*. Murraya exotica, or, perhaps, *Bois de quivi*, Quivisia laciniata, now *Bois balais*. (*Balfour*, p. 333.)

[5] *Bois de pomme*, *Sideroxylon* sp., one of the Sapotaceæ. (*Balfour*, p. 355.)

[6] *Bois de Renette*, *Bois de natte*. Imbricaria maxima.

[7] *Lataniers*. *Vide ante*, p. 62.

[8] *Palmistes*. *Vide ante*, p. 62. Areca jaunatre (*A. lutescens*) was considered poisonous at Bourbon.

[9] *Pins*, *i.e.*, screw-pines. Pandani various. *Vide supra*, p. 103.

not go beyond another. One is able to shelter oneself beneath, the sun's rays not being able to penetrate below, so tufted are they, and their leaves so well arranged.

Bois blanc et rouge[1] are rare.

Bois d'éponge[2] is not altogether so rare as the preceding.

There are, besides, other trees and shrubs of which I know not the names.

There is found a little *Chiendent*,[3] and also *Capillaire*.

Bois de demoiselle[4] is rather rare. The small birds eat the seeds of it.

There is found a little of the *Bois de Lostan*,[5] which strongly resembles the *Bois de coudre*,[6] which is in France.

[This *Relation*, proceeds M. Milne Edwards, enables me to determine that forty years after the departure of Leguat, the fauna of Rodriguez still included all the ornithological types, so interesting to science, described by that traveller, and that their extinction is posterior to that date. It gives us, as well, details of the manners, forms, and colours of several species whose existence I had ascertained, with their zoological affinities, from their bone remains alone, and it confirms the results at which I had arrived. It deals successively with the *Solitaires*, and the birds which I have made known under the names *Erythromachus Leguati*, *Ardea megacephala*, *Athene murivora*, and of *Necropsittacus rodericanus*.[7]]

LAND BIRDS.[8]

The Solitaire is a large bird, which weighs about forty or fifty pounds. They have a very big head, with a sort of frontlet, as if

[1] *Bois blanc, et rouge.*

[2] *Bois d'éponge.* Gastonia cutispongia. (*Balfour*, p. 344.)

[3] Chiendent. *Cynodon Dactylon.* Capillaire. *Adiantum Capillus Veneris.* (*Balfour*, pp. 384, 386.) *Vide supra*, p. 324.

[4] *Bois de demoiselle*, Kirganelia virginea. Phyllanthus Casticus, now called *castique.* (*Balfour*, p. 369.)

[5] *Bois de Losta.* Nuxia verticillata.

[6] *Coudrier*, the filbert or hazel.

[7] *Annales des Sciences Naturelles.*

[8] *Vide* Translation and Comments of Professor Alfred Newton, F.R.S., in *Proceedings of Zoological Society*, 1875.

of black velvet. Their feathers are neither feathers nor fur; they are of a light grey colour, with a little black on their backs. Strutting proudly about, either alone or in pairs, they preen their plumage or fur with their beak, and keep themselves very clean. They have their toes furnished with very hard scales, and run with quickness, mostly among the rocks, where a man, however agile, can hardly catch them. They have a very short beak, of about an inch in length, which is sharp. They, nevertheless, do not attempt to hurt anyone, except when they find some one before them, and, when hardly pressed, try to bite him. They have a small stump [*sicot, chicot ?*] of a wing, which has a sort of bullet at its extremity, and serves as a defence. They do not fly at all, having no feathers to their wings, but they flap them, and make a great noise with their wings when angry, and the noise is something like thunder in the distance. They only lay, as I am led to suppose, but once in the year, and only one egg. Not that I have seen their eggs, for I have not been able to discover where they lay. But I have never seen but one little one alone with them, and, if any one tried to approach it, they would bite him very severely. These birds live on seeds and leaves of trees, which they pick up on the ground. They have a gizzard larger than the fist, and what is surprising is that there is found in it a stone of the size of a hen's egg, of oval shape, a little flattened, although this animal cannot swallow anything larger than a small cherry-stone. I have eaten them; they are tolerably well tasted.

[Professor Newton remarks that between the time of Leguat and that of the writer the ill-fated bird seems to have learnt to resent injurious treatment by biting, and that the black velvet-like frontal band is a feature not mentioned by the older author.]

[Compare above with Cauche's account.]

GELINOTTE.

There is a sort of bird, of the size of a young hen, which has the feet and the beak red. Its beak is a little like that of the curlew, excepting that it is slightly thicker and not quite so long. Its plumage is spotted with white and grey. They generally feed

on the eggs of the land tortoises, which they find in the ground, which makes them so fat that they often have difficulty in running. They are very good to eat, and their fat is of a yellowish red, which is excellent for pains. They have small pinions, without feathers, on which account they cannot fly; but, on the other hand, they run very well. Their cry is a continual whistling. When they see any one who pursues them they produce another sort of noise, like that of a person who has the hiccup.

[From the similarity of coloration we may, I think (says Professor Newton), without much risk of error, identify the bird of which these particulars are given with the *Gélinotte* of Leguat, *Erythromachus Leguati* of Milne-Edwards, and proved by Sir Edward Newton to belong to the *Rallidæ*—a determination which possibly may explain its unexpected egg-eating propensities.]

There are not a few *Butors*, which are birds which only fly a very little, and run uncommonly well when they are chased. They are of the size of an egret, and something like them.

[These bitterns are, no doubt, the *Ardea megacephala* of M. Milne-Edwards, and the passage is a remarkable corroboration of that naturalist's opinion that the species was brevipennate, though it had not entirely lost the power of flight. (See p. 81.)—A. N.]

A little bird is found which is not very common, for it is not found on the mainland. One sees it on the *islet au Mât*, which is to the south of the main island, and I believe it keeps to that islet on account of the birds of prey which are on the mainland, as also to feed with more facility on the eggs of the fishing birds which feed there, for they feed on nothing else but eggs or some turtles dead of hunger, which they well know how to tear out of their shells. These birds are a little larger than a blackbird, and have white plumage, part of the wings and tail black, the beak yellow as well as the feet, and make a wonderful warbling. I say a warbling, since they have many and altogether different notes. We brought up some with cooked meat, cut up very small, which they eat in preference to seeds.

[I am at a loss to conjecture what these birds were, unless, possibly, of some form allied to *Fregilupus*.—A. N.]

PARROTS AND SMALL BIRDS.

The parrots are of three kinds, and in numbers. The largest are larger than a pigeon, and have a tail very long, the head large as well as the beak. They mostly come on the islets which are to the south of the island, where they eat a small black seed, which produces a small shrub whose leaves have the smell of the orange tree, and come to the mainland to drink water. The second species is slightly smaller and more beautiful,. because they have their plumage green like the preceding, a little more blue, and above the wings a little red as well as their beak. The third species is small and altogether green, and the beak black. [Of these three species of parrot, the first can, without danger be referred to the *Necropsittacus Rodericanus*, determined by M. Milne-Edwards from bones sent him by my brother (Sir E. Newton) [see p. 85], and doubtless quite extinct; the second is unquestionably *Palæornis exsul*, described by myself (see p. 84), which has lingered into our own times; and the third is the species of *Agapornis*, known still to exist in Rodriguez, and thought by my brother to be *A. cana*. (*Ibis*, 1865, p. 149.)[1]]

The doves there are in great numbers, but on the mainland very few are seen, because they go to feed on the islets to the south, as well as the parrots, and come to drink likewise on the mainland. A bird is seen which is very like the brown owl, and which eats the little birds and small lizards. They live almost always in the trees; and when they think the weather fine, they utter at night always the same cry. On the other hand, when they find the weather bad they are not heard.

[This is evidently the *Athene murivora* of Milne-Edwards.]

There are plenty of goldfinches, which have a sweet warbling. Some wagtails are to be seen, with some other small birds, which have very sweet notes, but they are ever on the look-out for the birds of prey, which are the owls of which I have before spoken.

[The goldfinches may well be referred to *Foudia Rodericana*,

[1] Professor A. Newton, in *Pr. Zool. Society*, *l. c.*; also *Ibis*, 1872, p. 33. *Vide post*, p. 337. *Ann. des Sc. Nat. Zool.*, Ser. 5, viii, pp. 145-56.

discovered by Mr. Newton (*vide infra*); and among the other little birds was probably included *Drymœca flavicans* (?).]

PALÆORNIS EXSUL.

Professor Newton refers in the *Ibis*[1] to "the passage in Leguat's narrative (see *ante*, p. 53), where he mentions the consolation that traveller and his companions found in the abundance of Perroquets. In the first passage he records their predilection for the nuts of a tree somewhat like an olive; in the second (i, p. 84), he speaks of their being '*verds & bleus*, sur tout de médiocre & d'égale grosseur', and having flesh not less good than that of young Pigeons; in the third (p. 105), he states that some of them were instructed by his company, and that they took one, which spoke French and Flemish, with them to Mauritius.

"The second of the passages is so vague as to raise the question whether there were green parakeets and blue parakeets, or only parakeets possessing a combination of both colours, and the solution of the doubt would require the discrimination of keen judges. . . .

"Pingré, who was in Rodriguez in 1761, writes (p. 195): 'La perruche me semblait beaucoup plus délicat.' [He had just been mentioning the esculent qualities of a species of *Pteropus*.] 'Je n'aurais regretté aucun gibier de France, si celui-ci eut été plus commun à Rodrigue: mais il commence à devenir rare. Il y a encore moins de perroquets quoiqu'il y en ait eu encore autrefois en assez grande quantité, selon Fr. Leguat, et en effet une petite isle au sud de Rodrigue a encore conservé le nom d'Isle aux perroquets.' It would hence appear that there was a '*perruche*' and a '*perroquet*', though unfortunately Pingré does not say what either was like.

"In 1864 Mr. Edward Newton observed a flock, and obtained an example of what he believed to be *Agapornis cana* (*vide infra*), a species introduced, no doubt, since Leguat's time. In 1867 M. Edwards described a fragment of a parrot's *maxilla* found with

[1] "On an Undescribed Bird from the Island of Rodriguez," by Alfred Newton, M.A., F.R.S. (*Ibis*, 1872, p. 31.)

the bones of the *Solitaire* (*vide infra*). The large size of this bird (*Psittacus rodericanus*?),[1] equally with the small size of the *Agapornis*, precludes either from being the '*perroquet*' characterised by Leguat as of '*médiocre grosseur*', and again mentioned by Pingré.

In 1871 Mr. Newton received from Mr. Jenner, the magistrate of Rodriguez, an example of a 'parrot' preserved in spirit. . . . . and Professor Newton, in full confidence that it had never been named or described, characterised it as *Palæornis*, thus:

"'PALÆORNIS EXSUL, *sp. n. Diagn.* (*fœminæ*). *P. mediocris griseiglaucus, vitta menti obscura nigra, remigibus externe caruleo lavatis, interne nigris. Hab. in insula Rodericana. . . . .*'

"In the belief that in this glaucous bird we see one of the '*Perroquets verds & bleus*' of Leguat, I have chosen a name for it which may help to commemorate the first writer who seems to have observed it, and in bestowing upon it the appellation of *Palæornis exsul*, have had in my mind the exile through whose means we are in some degree acquainted with the marvellous original fauna of the island which was to him productive of so much happiness, as a prelude to so much misery."

To continue, however, the remarks of M. Milne-Edwards:—

"The *Relation* MS. distinctly indicates that the ornithological fauna of Rodriguez had not undergone any notable modification during the first part of the eighteenth century, since the species noticed by Leguat still existed in 1730. We know, on the other hand, that when the astronomer Pingré stayed in this island in 1761, the *Solitaires* there had become so rare that that savant only spoke of them from hearsay, not having observed any himself." M. Milne-Edwards adds, that "he (Pingré) gives no in-

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1 "The perruche of Pingré may be set down as the species indicated by M. Milne-Edwards. The naturalists attached to the Transit Expedition having returned from Rodriguez without procuring a specimen of the cock bird of this species, although one was seen by Mr. Slater, which will be found to have a red bill and a red star patch, according to the manuscript *Relation de l'Ile Rodrigue*, already cited." A plate showing the characteristics of the hen bird was published by Professor Newton in the *Ibis* for July 1875, which is reproduced at page 85.

formation about the other land-birds. There is reason, then, for supposing that the extinction of these species, which probably commenced at the date of Leguat's stay, progressed with an ever-increasing rapidity, and attained its maximum between 1730 and 1760.

"The documents forwarded to the Minister of Marine leave no more doubt on this subject, and, thanks to them, not only can we, so to speak, assist at the destruction of one of the animals which was formerly in abundance at Rodriguez (I mean the terrestrial tortoises), but render as well a fair account of the causes for their disappearance. The causes which have led to their extinction are, in all probability, those which have also extirpated the birds.

"We see in the reports addressed to the *Compagnie des Indes*, and preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Marine, that the Island Rodriguez was considered as a sort of magazine of supplies, not only for the Isles of France and of Bourbon, but also for the ships which frequented these seas. They came regularly to find the tortoises. Already, in 1726 or 1727, M. Lenoir, during his visit to the Isle of France, wrote to the Council of the French East India Company :—

"'It cannot be permitted that ships going to the Indies, and returning thence, should go without hindrance to despoil the neighbouring islets of the land-tortoises; and it is necessary to prohibit captains from sending their boats to take them, unless the commandant of the island gives permission, and gives the number which they may take away.'[1]

"Butchers' meat is often scarce in the Isle of France, and we find that by degrees a regular service of supply from Rodriguez was organised. The different Governors frequently despatched ships which returned laden with tortoises, and which had no other destination. In 1737 M. de la Bourdonnais organised expeditions of this kind; but he has not left an exact account of them, and we cannot judge of their importance. On the other hand,

[1] Manuscript documents collected under the title of *Code of the Isle of France*, 1556 à 1768. (*Archives de la Marine.*)

M. Desforges-Boucher, in his reports addressed to the Company from 1759 to 1760, enumerates not only the ships employed in this service, but also the number of tortoises received and carried away by each of them. Four small vessels—*la Mignonne*, *l'Oiseau*, *le Volant*, and *la Pénelope*—were at this time almost universally employed for transporting tortoises, and an officer resided at Rodriguez for superintending them."

M. Milne-Edwards had not space to reproduce at length[1] the reports of M. Desforges-Boucher, in which he speaks of these expeditions. It is sufficient for him to tell us that he has calculated, from the incomplete accounts of these importations, that M. Boucher exported from Rodriguez in less than eighteen months more than thirty thousand (30,000) land-tortoises. When we consider the small extent of this islet, it is not wonderful that these animals, formerly so plentiful, have completely disappeared; in spite of their fecundity, they could not resist such means of destruction.

What M. Milne-Edwards states about the tortoises equally applies, he says, to the land-birds. "It is evident that the sailors were not sparing in following and killing them. These species, the capture of which was rendered easy by the small development of their wings, at the same time that the delicacy of their flesh made them sought for, tended to their speedy extinction. In order to explain their extirpation, it is not, then, necessary to invoke changes in the biological conditions. The action of man has amply sufficed; it has been there exercised without hindrance, and with greater facility than anywhere else; it continues on many other points of the globe, and at the present day one can foresee the period when many apterous birds and large cetaceans, and certain species of Phocæ and Otaries, will be extinguished by man."

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[1] Some extracts from the reports are given in a note, an example of which will here suffice :—"1759, 16 Decbr., the *Penelope* arrives from Rodriguez with 1035 land tortoises and 47 turtles. The cargo was of 5,000 of the former and 50 of the latter; but a passage of eight days reduced the number to the few which she brings."

C.

NOTES FROM A MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT FAUNA OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS,[1]

By M. A. Milne-Edwards.

M. Milne-Edwards' remarks on the ancient fauna of Rodriguez are so important, as confirming and illustrating Leguat's veracity and exactitude, that they cannot well be omitted. He writes:—

"The Island of Rodriguez, although inhabited at the time when Leguat lived there, seemed, from his accounts, to have a rich vegetation and a varied fauna, whereas to-day the animals there are almost entirely wanting, and its products hardly suffice for the need of a small number of negroes whom the traders of Mauritius keep there for their fishing operations. A change so completely effected in less than two centuries appeared improbable, and the veracity of Leguat was doubted.

"Nevertheless, the assertions of this naturalist deserve to be received with confidence; for the remains belonging to some extinct species, and discovered a few years ago in the cave earths of the island, must be considered as so many irrefutable witnesses of the exactitude of his observations.

"The interesting investigations of MM. Strickland and Melville, in 1848, and next of Messieurs Newton on the bird, which Leguat called the *Solitaire*, initiated the scientific rehabilitation of this traveller, and in a memoir published some years since I have shown that conformably to his assertions there has formerly existed at Rodriguez some great parrots, of which the species at the present day exists neither in this island nor on any other point of the globe. . . .

"The diggings carried out under the direction of Mr. Edward Newton have brought to light many other analogous remains, and from their examination I am enabled to declare that besides the Solitaires and the great parrots, of which I have just spoken, there existed many other birds corresponding with the zoological

[1] *Ann. Sc. Nat. Zool.*, Ser. 5, viii, pp. 145 *et seq.*

types which Leguat observed at Rodriguez in 1691, but which no longer exist in our days."

Among the bone and fragments found in the caves side by side with the remains of the Pezophaps or Solitaire, M. Milne-Edwards discovered "portions of the skeleton of a small fowl, somewhat resembling the wingless rail (*Ocydromi*) of New Zealand, and, like that bird, incapable of flying, of which the *metatarsus* more resembled that of *Aphanapteryx* of Mauritius than of *Tribonyx*.

"At the present day there does not exist at Rodriguez any bird having the least resemblance with the *Ocydromi*, or the other species of the same family; but all the osteological characters which I have just pointed out agree very well with the idea that can be formed of certain birds which inhabited this island in great numbers some two centuries ago, and which Leguat noticed under the name of *Gelinotes*.

"These were evidently not moor-hens, and they could not belong to this zoological group, for they had, according to Leguat, their beak long and straight and pointed, something like that of the *Ocydromi*, and, like those rails, they were hardly able to fly; a peculiarity which is not observable with any other bird whose beak is shaped in this form. They also resembled the Ocydromus by a physiological singularity. 'If you offer them anything that is red, they are so angry that they will fly at you to catch it out of your hand, and in the heat of the combat we had an opportunity to take them with care.' (*Vide ante*, p. 81.)

"Now, I have observed the same instinct with the Ocydromi of the menagerie at the Museum of Natural History, and an English traveller, who has lived a long time in New Zealand, Mr. Strange, informs us that the best manner of catching these rails is to place oneself right in their sight, holding in the hand a piece of red stuff; for as soon as they perceive it, they throw themselves upon it, and allow themselves to be killed rather than be driven from the object which excites their anger. I should add that this instinct has been established and utilised in the same manner with the *Aphanapteryx*, which bird towards the end of the 17th century was living in Mauritius, but the species of which has nowadays disappeared.

"It seems to me, therefore, very probable that the rail whose bones are yet found at Rodriguez is the same bird as that which Leguat designated under the name of *Gelinote;* and as its anatomical characters do not allow of classifying it in any of the genera formerly established, I shall denote it under the name of *Erythromachus*, in order to record one of its peculiar manners noticed by this traveller. The description which Leguat gives tells us also that *Erythromachus* had a grey plumage for both sexes, and a red border around the eye.

"The different bones which we have been able to study indicate to us the relative proportions of the principal parts of the body, and, thanks to the description of Leguat, we can fill in the gaps which palæontological science alone finds wanting, and thus characterise the bird of Rodriguez:

"Family, of *Ocydromidæ;* Genus, *Erythromachus;* sp. *Erythromachus Leguati.* . . . This bird ought to feed on worms, insects, and molluses.

"The difference of beak prevents *Erythromachus* being placed in the same genus as *Aphanapteryx, as well as the height of its feet.* From other considerations the vague genus, *Aptornis*, advocated by M. de Selys-Longchamps, cannot be adopted."

Butors or Herons.—"The fossil remains submitted to my examination," writes M. Milne-Edwards, "by Professor A. Newton, enable me to determine also that the family of Herons, at the present day unknown at Rodriguez, was formerly represented by a singular species with a large head, massive beak, and short feet: I have been able, almost entirely, to reconstruct the skeleton of this wader, and I do not doubt that this bird was that which Leguat mentions under the name of *Butor.*" (*Vide ante*, p. 210.) "This bird is not a veritable Butor; but its head is so large and its feet so short that one understands how Leguat had referred it to this species. . . .

"The fossil skull of this Rodriguez bird presents the characteristics of the Herons, but it is distinguished, by its massive appearance, from all the other known species.

"This new species has been named *Ardea megacephala.*

"A fresh proof of the veracity of Leguat, and of the considerable

change which has taken place in the avifauna of Rodriguez in the course of only two centuries, has been furnished by the bones of some nocturnal birds, whose existence I have determined. At the present time no bird of prey is known in this locality; but when Leguat resided there, the nocturnal rapacious birds were in sufficiently great numbers to assist actively in the destruction of the rats with which the island was infested. (See p. 212.)

"Mr. E. Newton has recovered in the caves of Rodriguez some bones, by whose help we can describe the size and affinities of these Strigides. These bones belong to two species; one of these, sufficiently characterised by a tibia and metatarsus, appears to me to belong to the genus sparrow-owl, or *Athene*. The bones do not quite correspond with those of *Athene superciliaris* of Madagascar (Vieillot), or *A. Polleni* (Schlegel), or *Ninox madagascariensis*. This owl probably constitutes a new species (it is possible it yet survives at Rodriguez?), and I propose to give it the name of *Strix* (*Athene*) *murivora*.

"Another species, less well characterised . . ., I am disposed to consider as approaching the Eagle Owls (Grands Ducs).

"The other terrestrial birds of which Leguat makes mention as living at Rodriguez are: Pigeons, parrots, and a unique species of the group of sparrows. If the pigeons have not entirely disappeared from this island, they have become extremely rare, for Mr. Newton, in spite of his investigation, has not been able to see a single individual of them; but their former existence is demonstrated by the bone fragments which have been found associated with those of the Solitaire Erythromachus, the herons and the owls, of which I have just spoken. These remains permit me to declare that, formerly, there were two species of pigeons. One is evidently *Turtur picturatus*, which at present inhabits Madagascar and Mauritius, and it is probably to this which the passage of Leguat refers, where this traveller says: 'the Pigeons here are somewhat less than ours, etc. . . ." (*Vide ante*, p. 82.)

The second species of Pigeon has not been recorded by Leguat; but, from the study of a *sternum* in good preservation, M. Milne-Edwards finds it was different from *Turtur*, *Vinago*, and *Erythræna*. It belongs to a species of small size, hardly larger than *Columba*

tympanistria, but evidently far better formed for flight. He has named it *Columba rodericana*.[1]

Parrots.—"The parrots observed by Leguat," writes M. A. Milne-Edwards, "were of moderate size; their plumage was green and blue. They were very abundant, and the flesh of the young ones had an agreeable taste. I have been able to see, according to the manuscripts of Pingré, preserved in the library of Saint Geneviève, that, in 1761, the date when that astronomer visited the Island of Rodriguez to observe the passage of Venus, these birds had commenced to become rare. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have entirely disappeared, for lately M. Newton has succeeded in procuring a parrot which, in all probability, is a representative of the species observed by Leguat, for very many bones found in the caverns of the island evidently correspond with it.

"This bird, quite distinct from all existing Psittacians, has been described by M. Newton under the name of *Palæornis exsul*.

"The same ornithologist has ascertained that the *Agapornis cana*, a small parroquet common to Madagascar and Mauritius, inhabits at the present moment Rodriguez, but the colonists assert that it is of foreign origin, and add that it had been brought by an American ship coming from Madagascar. As to the fossil great parrot of Rodriguez, which I have already made known under the name of *Psittacus rodericanus*,[2] it cannot be connected either

[1] Professor Newton described, in 1879, three skins of the *Alectroœnas nitidissima*, the extinct pigeon of Mauritius (the *Pigeon Hollandais* of Sonnerat, so called from its colours—red, blue, and white), which remain in the museums at Paris, Port Louis, and Edinburgh. He says: "Allied to this are three species which still survive, and are natives of Madagascar, the Comoros, and the Seychelles. . . . It is possible that Rodriguez once possessed another member of the group, the *Columba rodericana* of M. A. Milne-Edwards; but we have not received sufficient remains of that species (which is certainly extinct) to decide the point, and the older voyagers give us no help here, as they do in many other cases." (*Pro. Zool. Soc.*, 1879, p. 2.)

[2] *Psittacus rodericanus.*—Among the bones extracted from the recent earthy deposits of the caves in Rodriguez (1864) was found the fragment of a mandible, which was submitted by Sir Ed. Newton to Pro-

with *Ajapornis cana* or *Palæornis exsul*, and furnishes one proof the more of the changes wrought in the fauna of this island."

Small Birds.—"It is difficult to know if the little birds which Leguat compares (p. 84) to the canaries still live at Rodriguez. Mr. E. Newton has only met with two sparrows in this island, which, although much resembling the Malagasy species, differ sufficiently from them to be inscribed in our catalogues under separate names. One of these species or particular races is a *Foudia* (*F. flavicans*), the other a *Drymœca* (*D. rodericana*), and they are both remarkable for a most pleasing song. Indeed, Leguat states positively that the little birds of his island do not sing. It seems to me, then, probable that there was not either *Foudia flavicans* or *Drymœca rodericana*. The introduction of these birds must be of recent date, and I am inclined to think that the sparrows observed by Leguat have undergone the same fate as the *Solitaires* and *Erythromachi*."

Guinea-Fowls.—"The guinea-fowls did not exist in Rodriguez at the time when Leguat made known to us with such exactitude the productions of that island; but since, these birds have been introduced there, and now they live there in a wild state. Thus Colonel Dawkins reports that he found only parrots and a guinea-fowl. But we are ignorant to what species this last bird belonged. However, the bones discovered by Mr. Newton permit me to solve this problem; and I am disposed to believe that it is the *Numida mitrata* of Central Africa, and not *Numida tiarata*, which now lives in Rodriguez."

Flying Foxes.—"In order to finish with what is relative to terrestrial animals whose remains have been found in the caverns of

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fessor Alph. Milne-Edwards. This naturalist easily recognised, at first glance, that this fragment belonged to a parrot, a genus of birds which appeared no longer to exist in Rodriguez. The anterior and middle portions of the upper mandible sufficed for the determination of the characteristic type. From the difference of conformation, M. Milne-Edwards concluded that it was extremely probable that this parrot of Rodriguez, or *Psittacus rodericanus*, like that of Mauritius, was allied to the Loris, and has become extinct. (Vide *Memoir on a Fossil Psittacian of the Island of Rodriguez*, by M. Alph. Milne-Edwards, Paris, 1866.)

Rodriguez, I ought to mention some bones of mammals. I have recognised the domestic cat, a very young pig, a rat (not the brown rat, but the *Mus Alexandrinus*), and numerous (*roussettes*) flying foxes.

"Leguat speaks of them (*vide ante*, p. 85).

"Pingré, who touched at Rodriguez in 1761 on his voyage for the observation of the transit of Venus has given some details of these animals: 'The bats,' he wrote, 'are placed by naturalists among the quadrupeds; those which I have seen at Rodriguez were of the size of a pigeon, but longer. The head resembles somewhat that of a fox. The coat is reddish brown (*roux*), darker on the head and neck than on the rest of the body. The wings are of a dark grey colour; extended or stretched out, they perhaps have from a foot to a foot-and-a-half in length. These bats otherwise resemble our European bats; they are very fat.'

"These animals still live in Rodriguez. They are not *Pteropus Edwardsii* of Madagascar, which is much larger, or *Pteropus vulgaris* of Mauritius, whose remains are found with the Dodo, and is also much larger. The flying fox of Rodriguez is a smaller animal, probably *Pteropus rubricollis*."

Sea Fowl.—"The sea-birds which frequent the coasts of Rodriguez are the same which have been there during the last two centuries. We see, as in the time of Leguat, the Frigates, the Boobies, the Boatswains, and the Petrels. The collection of Mr. E. Newton includes a considerable number of the bones of the Boatswain bird (*Paille-en-queue*), *Phaeton candidus*.

"Leguat describes with great exactitude these birds (*vide ante*, p. 83).

"Mingled with the bones of the Phaetons are found numerous remains of (*Procellaria*) Petrel, and some bones of a Shearwater, probably not different to *Puffinus aterrimus*.

"Only one fragment of the humerus of a Frigate and a Gannet (*Sula piscator*). These birds abound in these seas, and Leguat mentions them" (*ante*, p. 82).

Extinction of Species.—"It is by comparing the sedentary fauna," writes M. Milne-Edwards, "such as it is at the present

day, with the species which are revealed by the bones dug out of the earth of the caves, and which Leguat observed, that it is possible to determine that, in less than two centuries, very considerable changes have taken place in the composition of this fauna, formerly so rich, and now so remarkably poor. The vegetation there has changed also its character, for the fine trees of which Leguat speaks have for the most part given place to brushwood. But these modifications are not due either to a geological catastrophe or to special meteorological phenomena, for the climate has not varied. The local traditions attribute the destruction of the woods to great fires occasioned by human agency; and it is also human influence, either direct or indirect, which seems to me to have brought about the extinction of the animal species which I have described.

"Leguat was one of the first who landed at Rodriguez; the aboriginal animals were then multiplying in peace: they as yet had no enemies but the rats, whose introduction, due to sailors, was probably recent; and the birds were so little shy that they let themselves be taken by the hand. Besides, the sailors of the ships which put in to Rodriguez did not fail always to hunt them down. In fact, the work of destruction commenced by the sailors, and by the rodents, which our ships carried everywhere, was completed, without doubt, when the Europeans established at Rodriguez a small colony of negro slaves, meagrely supplied.

"The climate of Rodriguez has not become unfavourable for the propagation of animal species, since the domestic fowls, the Guinea-fowls introduced by the colonists, breed well, and thrive even in a wild state.

"The disturbance due to the presence of man seems to have sufficed to cause the disappearance from the surface of the globe for the most part of the sedentary birds, to whom Rodriguez was probably the last refuge. Elsewhere man has been the cause, direct or indirect, of many other phenomena of the same order, and the influence which he has exercised upon the geographical distribution of animal species is more considerable than is generally supposed.

"I have already had occasion to state how the islands of

Mauritius, Réunion, and Rodriguez, at the date when our navigators first landed there, were in possession of a special fauna, very remarkable by the great wingless birds, unknown in the rest of the world, by gigantic tortoises, by saurians and many other terrestrial animals which could not have arrived there by sea, and which lived there in great numbers.

"This zoological population, so rich, so varied, does not seem as if it could have been born on lands of so restricted an extent; and considerations, on which I have already insisted, have led me to think that these islands must be considered as the remains of a continent whose inhabitants, before completely disappearing from the surface of the world, have found on the culminating points sunk almost to the level of the sea a last refuge.

"Indeed, from the general character of the aboriginal fauna of the Mascarene Islands we can be assured that these presumed lands never connected any of these stations either with Madagascar or Africa, or with India or Australia, for there is not seen any one of the animals deprived of wings which characterise the animal populations of these countries. The Malagasy fauna is altogether special, but it has, nevertheless, with the New Zealand fauna and that of the Antarctic region, certain points of resemblance, such as we need not hesitate to class among the southern fauna. It is, then, possible that formerly it might have extended more to the south, and we find ourselves brought to the idea of a great land formerly existing in the part of the Antarctic Ocean occupied at the present day by the immense banks of marine plants, which are designated under the common name of *Kelp*.

"In the present state of our knowledge, only most vague conjectures can be formed relating to the *ensemble* of the fauna of which the animal population of the Mascarene Islands affords us a specimen; but it is to be hoped that, when the travelled naturalists shall have explored the marshes, the caverns, and sedimentary deposits of the islands, Crozet, Kerguelen, St. Paul, and other points of the same region, they will discover there some fossil remains analogous to those found at Rodriguez or Mauritius, and that by the help of these remains it will be possible to recon-

struct more completely the extinct population of this region, and to estimate its relations with the New Zealand fauna, of which it is, perhaps, only a branch."

MR. EDWARD NEWTON'S VISIT.[1]

Mr. Edward Newton, after a short visit to Rodriguez, October 30, 1864, in H.M.S. *Rapid*, wrote:—"The country was covered with grass pretty well eaten down by cattle; here and there were scrubby trees—mostly the resinous *bois d'Olive;* a *Vacoa* (*Pandanus* sp.), different, of course, from anything in Mauritius; and an acacia, very like *A. lebbek*. The island is very well depicted in Mr. Higgins' drawings,[2] engraved in *The Dodo and its Kindred* (Plates III and IV). It may be generally described as a long-backed range of hills, running from east to west, and sending out spurs to the sea-coast. The height in the centre may be from 1,000 to 1,500 feet.

"There is no forest, so far as I could learn; and the tradition is that it was destroyed by fire some forty or fifty years ago; but this story, I think, must be incorrect, as otherwise, in so short a time, there would surely be some traces of it left, whereas there are none. Moreover, I cannot find that Leguat speaks of it as being anything then beyond what it now is; and the place of his settlement, with the trees dotted about, as drawn, barring the *Solitaires*, just as it is now.

"I soon saw the 'yellow bird', which a negro who was with me called a '*zozo*' (*i.e.*, oiseau) '*du pays*', and declared at first to be the only bird in the island. He afterwards admitted the existence of a *Perruche*, but that, he said, was all." (The yellow bird was perfectly tame, and a distinct and well-marked species of *Foudia*, *F. flavicans*,[3] with a very pretty song not unlike that of the goldfinch.) "It is exceedingly numerous, and I saw a flock

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[1] *Ibis*, 1865, p. 166 *et seq.*

[2] See photo-lithograph reproduction at p. 46.

[3] *Pro. Zoo. Soc.*, 1865, p. 46 *et seq.*

of at least one hundred. . . . I shot two pair, and had them skinned. . . . .

"Soon after I came upon a small flock of *Perruches*. This was to all appearance identical with the Madagascar species, *Agapornis cana*, and as the bird is said to have been introduced into Rodriguez, I have no doubt it is so.

"Going on to a hill where the negro said there were wild Guinea-fowl, I heard a melodious whistle. On my asking the Creole what the bird was, he said, 'Ca même zozo du pays avec le bec et le queue long-long.' I killed a specimen which I have little doubt is a new species (*Drymœca rodericana*). If my supposition (that it is one of the Drymœcina) is right, it will be satisfactory as affording another proof of the connection between the Mascarene Islands and India; and this will be the case should Rodriguez, the easternmost of them, be found to possess an Indian form which the more western members are without. . . . .

"I saw, as I think, a Curlew (*Numenius arquatus*), and I had a shot at a Turnstone (*Strepsilas interpres.*)

"On the 2nd November we went inside the reef to the cave on the south-west side of the island. Towards daylight we passed by some islets, from one of which proceeded a clamour like that of a distant crowd—produced, we were told, by the *Fouquets* (*Puffinus chlororynchus*); and as the day dawned, I saw several Shearwaters. . . . From another islet harsher sounds were heard, and these were from the Boobies (*Sula piscator*), just waking up. I could see them sitting on the low bushes, while others were starting off for their day's fishing. . . .

"About six o'clock we landed, and at once walked up to the first cave, about a quarter of a mile inland. This part of the island appears to be quite flat, and one mass of rock. The cave was much the same as all other caves—plenty of stalactites and stalagmites; the width about fifty feet, the height from twenty to seventy feet, the floor nearly flat, and generally covered with a fine deep sand, perfectly dry. Near the entrance were a few crumbling pieces of land-tortoise shells, which fell to pieces on being picked up. . . We then sailed back some three miles, and:—

"About eleven o'clock we started for another cave. We went

up a small rivulet with steep sides, the water in which was brackish and quite undrinkable by itself, and amid a grove of thick fan-palms. Here I saw the only forest trees I came across; they were *bois d'olive*, and perhaps sixty or seventy feet high, and three or four in circumference at six feet from the ground. I picked up a shell or two of a land-tortoise and two bones. . . ."

Mr. Newton heard of a *Serin*, a *Bengali*, and a Dove. There were certainly no hawks, or "merles," or swallows. Of sea birds there were Noddies and Sooty Terns, Shearwaters, Boobies, and Frigate-birds. Wild Guinea-fowls were common. "Of Dodo's remains, no one knew anything more than that—'long temps passi, di monde, n'a pas conné qui, fin vini rodé pour li'—which, being interpreted, means 'in long time ago, someone, I know not who, came and looked for it'—and this was all the information that could be got."

Notice of a Memoir on the Osteology of the Solitaire, or Didine Bird of the Island of Rodriguez, by Professor Alfred Newton, F.R.S., and Mr. Edward Newton, M.A., Auditor-General of Mauritius. (*Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 103, p. 428; 1868.)

"The *Solitaire* of Rodriguez was first satisfactorily shown to be distinct from the Dodo of Mauritius (*Didus ineptus*) by Strickland, in 1844, from a renewed examination of the evidence respecting it, consisting of the account given by Leguat in 1708, and of the remains sent to France and Great Britain. Strickland, in 1848, further proved it to be generically distinct from the Dodo. The remains existing in Europe in 1852 were eighteen bones, of which five were at Paris, six at Glasgow, five in possession of the Zoological Society, ... and two in that of Strickland, who, at the date last mentioned, described them as belonging to *two* species, the second of which he named *Pezophaps minor*, from the great difference observable in the size of the specimens. In 1864, Mr. E. Newton[1] visited Rodriguez, and there found in a cave two more

[1] One of the authors.

bones; while a third was picked up by Captain Barclay at the same time. Mr. Newton urged Mr. Jenner, the magistrate of Rodriguez, to make a more thorough search of the caves, and in 1865 this gentleman sent no less than *eighty-one* specimens to Mauritius. News of this find reached England during the meeting of the British Association at Birmingham, and, prompted by Mr. P. L. Sclater, that body made a grant to aid further research, and in 1866 a very large collection of the bones of this bird, amounting to nearly two thousand specimens, was obtained.

"*Pezophaps* differs from *Didunculus* quite as much as *Didus* does, but it is nearly allied to the latter. . . . .

"In *Pezophaps* the bones of the wing are made massive and smoother than in *Didus*. The most remarkable thing about them however, is the presence of a bony knob[1] on the radial side of the metacarpal, unlike what is found in any other bird. It is large in some of the specimens, supposed to have belonged to old males, but very little developed in the presumed females. It is more or less spherical, pedunculate, and consists of a callus-like mass with a roughened surface, exceedingly like that of diseased bone, and was probably covered by a horny integument. It is situated immediately beyond the proximal end and the index, which last would appear to be thrust away by it to some extent. It answers most accurately and most unexpectedly to Leguat's description of it: 'L'os de l'aileron grossit a l'extremité, et forme sous la plume une petite masse ronde comme une balle de mousquet.' (*Vide ante*, p. 78.) . . . .

"A comparison of the entire skeleton shows that *Pezophaps* is in some degree, and perhaps on the whole, intermediate between *Didus* and the normal *Columbæ*. . . . .

"Strickland was amply justified in arriving at the conclusion that the Solitaire was generically distinct from the Dodo. . . . ."

Professor A. and Sir Edward Newton remark upon the different causes of extinction of species within historic time. This, when effected by men's agency, is seldom done by man's will; and various cases are cited to support this opinion. In extirpating

[1] See photograph of skeleton, frontispiece

species man generally acts indirectly; and they succumb to forces set in motion indeed by him, but without a thought on his part of their effect. In the case of the extinction of the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, the cause usually suggested seems inadequate; and the authors consider it was probably effected by feral swine, and quote a remarkable passage from an old French Voyage, showing the extraordinary abundance of these creatures in Mauritius, where, in or about the year 1708, above *fifteen hundred* had been slain in one day. It is plain that where these pigs abounded, inactive birds could not long survive. It is supposed that the case was the same in Rodriguez as in Mauritius; for in every country newly discovered by Europeans, it has been the almost universal custom to liberate pigs, and there is no reason to believe that this island was an exception thereto.

The extraordinary fidelity of Leguat's account of the Solitaire is next considered. It is borne out in every point save one, perhaps, by a study of the remains. The rugose surface at the base of the maxilla, the convexity of the pelvis, the somewhat lighter weight of the Solitaire than of the Dodo, its capacity for running, and above all, the extraordinary knob on the wing, all agree with the description he has given us. The authors attempt also to account for the origin of this last, by observing that its appearance is so exactly that of diseased bone, that it may have been first occasioned by injuries received by the birds in such combats with one another as Leguat mentions, and aggravated by the continuance of their pugnacity. The authors remark, also, that it is the habit of pigeons to fight by buffeting with their pinions.

The particular in which Leguat may have erred, is in the assertion, or perhaps inference, as to the monogamous habits of the Solitaire; and the cause of the error (if such it be) may be ascribed, without derogating from his truthfulness, to his anxiety to point a moral, which may have led him to imagine he saw what he wished to see. He especially mentions that one sex would not fight with the other, which is just what takes place among polygamous birds. The case of a very well-known bird (*Otis tarda*) is cited to show, that even now, after centuries of observation, it is doubtful whether it be monogamous or poly-

gamous. Leguat, therefore, may easily have been mistaken in his opinion, even setting aside his evident leaning in the matter. The notion of *Pezophaps* having been polygamous was before entertained by one of the authors, and arises from a consideration of the great difference in the size of the two sexes, which, in birds, is generally accompanied by polygamous habits; but the question is now not likely to be solved.

The amount of variability which every bone of the skeleton of this species presents, warrants the conclusion that as much was displayed in those parts of its structure which have perished, letting alone Leguat's direct evidence as to the individual difference in the plumage of the females.

"If such a process, therefore, as has been termed 'natural selection', or 'survival of the fittest', exists, there would have been abundant room for it to operate; and there having been only one species of *Pezophaps* might at first sight seem an argument against the belief in such process. . . ."

Messrs. Newton proceed from arguments to show that "a believer in Darwin's theory would be inclined to predicate that, when a small oceanic island like Rodriguez is found tenanted by a *single* species subject to great individual variability, it would be just under such circumstances that the greatest amount of variability would be certain to occur. In its original state, attacked by no enemies, the increase of the species would only be dependent on the supply of food, which, one year with another, would not vary very much, and the form would continue without any predisposing cause to change, and thus no advantage would be taken of the variability of structure presented by its individuals.

"On the other hand, we may reflect on what certainly has taken place. Of the other terrestrial members of the avifauna of Rodriguez, but few now remain. A small Finch and a Warbler, both endemic, are the only two land-birds of its original fauna now known to exist. The Guinea-fowl and Love-bird have, in all probability, been introduced from Madagascar; but the Parrots and Pigeons, of which Leguat speaks, have vanished. The remains of one of the first, and the description of the last, leave little room to doubt but they also were closely allied to the forms found in

Madagascar, and the other Mascarene islands; and thus it is certainly clear that *four* out of *six* indigenous species had their natural allies in other species belonging to the same zoological province. It seems impossible, on any other reasonable supposition than that of a common ancestry, to account for this fact." The authors are compelled to the belief that there was once a time when Rodriguez, Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar, and the Seychelles were connected by dry land, and that that time is sufficiently remote to have permitted the descendants of the original inhabitants of this now submerged continent to become modified into the many representative forms which are now known. Whether this result can have been effected by the process of "natural selection" must remain an open question; but that the Solitaire of Rodriguez and the Dodo of Mauritius, much as they eventually came to differ, sprang from one and the same stock, seems a deduction so obvious, that the authors can no more conceive any one, fully acquainted with the facts of the case, hesitating about its adoption than that he can doubt the existence of the Power by whom these species were thus formed.

"We are not aware", write MM. E. Newton and Clark, "that the osteology of any vertebrate, other than man, has been studied with the same wealth of materials as that of the *Solitaire*."[1]

As soon as Rodriguez had been selected as a transit station in 1874, it was suggested that a thorough examination of the caves should be initiated, in the hope of obtaining skeletons of *Pezophaps*. Mr. Slater, one of the naturalists of the expedition, deputed for the purpose,[2] accordingly examined the caves in the tract of coralline limestone overlying the basalt rock on the south-west side of the island. In these caves was found a deposit of earth, varying from six inches to three feet in depth—in some places even to nine feet; but, as a rule, no bones were found below two feet.

Mr. Slater supposes that the Solitaire resorted to the caverns

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[1] See also *Proceedings Zool. Soc.*, 1874, p. 474, and Art. "Fossil Birds", in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Professor A. Newton.

[2] See Introduction.

in case of fire in the island, which has been known to have denuded it several times of its trees; more so as he found in several cases nearly perfect skeletons, which lay evidently as they died. This, he adds, precludes the idea that they were carried there by wild cats.

It is more likely that the birds took refuge in the caves during hurricanes, and were then overwhelmed by torrents of water and mud.

The attention of Mr. Slater was drawn to the statement of Leguat, as to the stone found within the *Solitaire*, before he went to Rodriguez in 1874; but notwithstanding his examination of the caves, he was unsuccessful in finding anything bearing out the strange report. Shortly after, however, Mr. Caldwell visited the island and obtained three of what he believed to be the stones mentioned by Leguat.[1] One is figured in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Roy. Soc., vol. clxviii. It weighed a little over $1\frac{3}{4}$ oz. It is brown, somewhat rough, heavy, and hard. It can scarcely, however, be called flat on one side, but, in connection with this fact, it may be remarked that the bird with whose remains it was associated appears to have been young.

François Cauche, describing the birds of Madagascar and adjacent islands (1638), mentions somewhat similar stones.

"La figure de cet oiseau est dans la 2 nauigation des Hollandois aux Indes Orientalles, en 29 diée de l'an 1598. Ils l'appellent de nausée.

"J'ay veu dans l'isle Maurice des oiseaux plus gros qu'vn cygne, sans plumes par le corps, qui est couuert d'un duuet noir, il a le cul tout rond, le cropion orné de plumes crespuës, autant en nombre que chaque oiseau à d'années, au lieu d'aisles ils ont pareilles plumes que ces derniers, noires et recourbées, ils sont sans langues, le bec gros se courbant un peu par dessous, hauts de iambes, qui sont escaillées, n'ayant que trois ergots à chaque pied. Il a vn cry comme l'oison, il n'est du tout si sauoureux à manger, que les fouches et feiques, desquelles nous venons de

[1] One of these stones is shown in the photograph of the skeleton in the Cambridge Museum. *Vide* frontispiece.

parler. Ils ne font qu'vn œuf, blanc, gros comme vn pain d'vn sol, contre lequel ils mettent vne pierre blanche de la grosseur d'vn œuf de poules. Ils ponnent sur de l'herbe qu'ils amassent, et font leurs nids dans les forests, si on tuë le petit, on trouue vne pierre grise dans son gesier, nous les appellions, oiseaux de Nazaret. La graisse est excellente pour adoucir les muscles, et nerfs.

"Peut-estre que ce nom leur a esté donné pour auoir esté trouuez dans l'isle de Nazare, qui est plus haut que celle de Maurice, sous le 17 degré delà L'Equateur du costé du Sud."[1]

Strickland and Melville also quote Carré, who visited Bourbon in 1668, and Dubois who followed in 1669 :—

"J'ay vû dans ce lieu une sorte d'oiseau que je n'ay point trouvé ailleurs : c'est celuy que les habitans ont nommé l'Oiseau Solitaire, parce qu'effectivement il aime la solitude, et ne se plait que dans les endroits les plus écartez ; on n'en a jamais vû deux ni plusieurs ensemble ; il est toujours seul. Il ne ressembleroit pas mal à un Coq d'Inde, s'il n'avoit point les jambes plus hautes. La beauté de son plumage fait plaisir à voir. C'est une couleur changeante qui tire sur le jaune. La chair en est exquise : elle fait un des meilleurs mets de ce païs-la et pourroit faire les délices de nos tables." (*Voyages des Indes Orientales*, par M. Carré, vol. i, p. 12)

In the year after Carré's visit, Sieur Dubois described these same birds:—"*Solitaires:* Ces oiseaux sont nommés ainsi parce qu'ils vont toujours seuls. Ils sont gros comme une grosse Oye, et ont le plumage blanc, noir à l'extremité des ailes et de la queue. A la queue il y a des plumes approchantes de celles d'Autruche, ils ont le col long, et le bec fait comme celui des Bécasses, mais plus gros, les jambes et pieds comme poulets d'Inde. Cet oiseau se prend à la course, ne volant que bien peu." [(Dubois) D. B., *Voyage à Madagascar*, Paris, 1674.[2]]

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[1] *Relations Véritables et Curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar, et du Brésil*, Paris, 1651, p. 130.

[2] *The Dodo and its Kindred*, pp. 58-59.

D.

ON EXTINCT BIRDS OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS.

A VALUABLE paper was contributed, 31st October 1857, to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling "Natuurkunde"*, vol. vii, p. 116, which was originally written in Dutch; but a translation into German of part of it appeared in the *Journal für Ornithologie* for 1858) by Professor H. Schlégel, the Director of the National Museum of the Netherlands, "On Extinct Gigantic birds of the Mascarene Islands." The translation of Schlegel's paper by Mr. Hessels was forwarded by Professor Newton of Cambridge to Dr. Sclater for reproduction in the pages of the *Ibis*, where it appeared in April 1866, shortly after the discovery of the Didine remains near Mahebourg. (Vide *Ibis*, New Series, vol. i, pp. 146-168.)

Professor Schlegel announced that hitherto the recent investigations respecting the large birds which had become extirpated in Bourbon, Mauritius, and Rodriguez had entirely overlooked some species, one of which, in height at least, equalled the African Ostrich, and which did not belong to the Dodos, but to quite another order of birds.

"Remains of these birds have not hitherto been found; but we know them from descriptions and a representation, which perhaps may, if rightly understood, give a better and more complete idea of these beings than the obscure sketch which can be obtained of the New Zealand Moas through their numerous remaining bones. The description and representation of the largest species, called by Leguat 'Géant', is given by that traveller in his narrative. (*Vide ante*, pp. 209, 210.)

"Among naturalists Leguat has, hitherto, been known only by his account of the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, but everyone has accepted it without hesitation, and the remains of that bird, since discovered, have proved the exactness of his statements.

Besides this, it appears also, from the numerous observations which he communicates on known natural objects, that he was, as an amateur and for his time, an attentive and accurate observer, that he consulted in his investigations a multitude of works on natural history, that by comparing them mutually, and with nature, he tried to arrive at truth, and that he was anything but a servile repeater of another's words."

After having placed, as he thinks, the truthfulness of Leguat beyond all doubt, Professor Schlegel describes the bird, which he takes to be an unknown gigantic species, quoting from Leguat: "On voit beaucoup de certains oiseaux qu'on appelle *Géans*, etc. . . . ." (see p. 210). This description is accompanied by a figure which represents the bird at about one twenty-fifth of its natural size. He further explains this description and figure, and proceeds, as follows:—

"Let us, meanwhile, first examine what has been the opinion of other naturalists about this bird. Hamel and Strickland are, so far as I know, the only persons who have offered their opinions on the subject.[1] They had not the least doubt as to the existence of this large animal; nor can such be possible, since the accounts of Leguat are too precise, and he observed it on two islands at a considerable distance from each other; but they have, in our opinion, completely mistaken this bird.

"Hamel[2] takes it for a struthious bird, which, as well as the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, has been exterminated since Leguat's time. Our reasons why this opinion is entirely incorrect are the following:—

"1st, because the *Géant* of Leguat has a perfect tail with quills and under tail-coverts, which reach to its end, and that this tail is carried erect, which is never found among the struthious birds.

"2nd, that the toes are extraordinarily long and slender, and not short and very thick as in all known struthious birds.

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[1] We find also in Valentyn (v. ii, p. 152) some remarks on the *Géant* of Leguat, evidently derived from that author himself. (*Vide ante*, p. 210.)

[2] *Der Dodo, die Einsiedler und der erdichtete Nazarvogel*, in *Bulletin Phys.-Math. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1848, vol. vii, Nos. 5, 6, pp. 65-96.

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"3rd, that the gape by no means extends, as in the struthious birds, under the eye.

"4th, that the feet are covered over their whole length and breadth with large plates, and not partially or entirely with scales, as seen in the struthious birds.

"5th, that in Leguat's description and figure there is no appearance of the peculiar form of the feathers of the struthious birds, whereas he makes this to be so distinctly seen in his Solitaire.

"6th, that this bird lived in marshy places, where struthious birds do not abide.

"7th, that it could fly.

"8th, that, lastly, one had been carried away by a storm from Mauritius to Rodriguez, more than a hundred (about three hundred English) miles distant—a sea-voyage which such heavy birds as the *Struthionidæ* could not possibly perform.

"Strickland[1] has perpetually expressed the opinion that this bird has simply been a Flamingo, although the description of it gave him the impression of a Stork. This opinion is really as strange as that of Hamel; for, 1st, the physiognomy, or, if you will, the *habitus* of the bird is quite different.

"2nd. Neither the figure nor the description of the bill show any resemblance to that of the Flamingo.[2]

"3rd. The neck of the Flamingo is much longer, and very much thinner than in our bird.

"4th. Flamingos have a tail which is much shorter, has a different shape, and is never carried erect.

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[1] *The Dodo and its Kindred, etc.*, pp. 60 and 64. Strickland's own words are: "The fact is that these *Géans* are evidently (notwithstanding the Stork-like aspect of Leguat's plate at p. 171) *Flamingos*."

[2] Leguat's expression, "ils ont un bec d'oye", should evidently, and especially from the addition of "mais un peau plus pointu", be understood as having reference to the form in general, and not to the *lamellæ*, which the bill of the Flamingo has in common with that of the Geese. When Leguat says of his *Solitaire* (i, p. 98), "les males ont les pieds de coq d'Inde, et le bec aussi", we, in like manner do not conclude that these parts were formed exactly as in the Turkey, but that they had a general resemblance. [May not Leguat have meant that these birds had feet like the *Avis Indica*, as represented by Collaert? *Vide Infra.*—S. P. O.]

"5th. The legs in the Flamingo are much longer, and for the greater part bare, whereas in our bird they are covered with feathers pretty nearly as far as the tarsus.

"6th. The Flamingo has much shorter fore-toes, united by a swimming-membrane, and an extremely small hind-toe, whereas in our bird, both according to the figure and to the description, the toes are extraordinarily long, and quite free.

"7th. The colour of the Flamingo is in the young grey, in the old more or less generally red, and never white, as in our bird.

"8th, and lastly, the whole of Strickland's supposition fails, seeing that, as we have mentioned above, Leguat knew very well what sort of appearance a Flamingo had.

"For ourselves, we do not hesitate a moment to declare that this *Géant* of Leguat's was a Waterhen, and this for the following reasons:—

"1st. This bird has the *habitus* of the Waterhen to such a degree that anybody who has a little experience in the recognition of animal-forms will take it for one.

"2nd. The extraordinarily long toes argue to the same conclusion.

"3rd. The form of the tail, with the under-coverts reaching to its end, and its erect attitude, is exactly as in the Waterhens.

"4th. Leguat's figure shows distinctly that the upper mandible was prolonged in a kind of rounded plate, which extended over the forehead and eyes, just as we see in the typical Waterhens, namely, *Gallinula*, *Porphyrio*, and *Fulica*.

"5th, and lastly, Leguat's expressions, 'gibier' and 'assez bon', can also be applied to the Waterhens.

"When we have agreed that this bird belongs to the family of Waterhens—and I really do not know in what other group we could, with any probability, place it—then arises the question, Under what genus of this family could we more positively arrange it? That it cannot be regarded as a Coot (*Fulica*), its toes, not bordered by lobed membranes, show. It should, therefore, be assigned rather to the genus *Porphyrio* or *Gallinula*; for one could not account it a Rail (*Rallus*), as it carries its tail erect and has a frontal plate, any more than a Crane (*Grus*), which

genus is most allied to *Rallus*.[1] The genus *Porphyrio*, though zoologically and geographically very natural and so very conspicuous by the more or less fine blue colour of the feathers, differs, really, from *Gallinula* in no respect than in the higher bill and oval nostrils, whilst these in *Gallinula* are more elongated. Since, then, the figure of our bird shows elongated nostrils, and also a bill (so far as one can determine its form in the plate, where it is represented as seen from above) which seems to have been less high than in *Porphyrio*, and finally, since its colour is very different from that of *Porphyrio*, we must accordingly range it under the genus *Gallinula*.

"We will now examine how far the exact proportion of the various parts of our bird is observed in Leguat's figure. Since even in our own day, except Wolf, artists can hardly be found who are without failings in this respect, so can we much less expect that the contrary has been the case at the time Leguat lived, and with a mere amateur[2]—especially, too, as his figure represents the object in such a remarkable reduction as one twenty fifth. We have already remarked, in our treatise on the Dodos,[3] that in the existing rude drawing of that bird from Mauritius, in Van Neck's Voyage, it is much more naturally and truthfully delineated than in the figures of all European artists up to this time, by whom the poor Dodo has been transformed into a real monster, and wherein the hind-toe of the foot in the foreground is always wrongly attached, and stands in a crooked direction.

"Now although the habitus of the *Géant* in Leguat's figure is very well drawn, although the attitude of the feet, especially of the toes (notwithstanding the representation in perspective), in this plate betrays much more study from nature and more attention than the painters of the Dodo liked to give, yet the

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[1] Cf. *Ibis*, 1865, p. 533. (Dr. Sclater.)

[2] Professor Newton has remarked on the origin of Leguat's representation of the *Géant* being derived from the print of *Avis Indica* in A. Collaert's *Avium vivæ Icones*, 1590 (*Pro. Zool. Soc.*, 1873), reproduced in facsimile at p. 210.

[3] *Verslag en Mededeel. Koninkl. Akad. Amsterdam*, 1854, pp. 232-256.

drawing of Leguat also has its evident faults. In inspecting my copy of this figure, enlarged to the natural size, it is directly obvious that the body, instead of being the size of that of a Goose[1] (as Leguat's description says), almost equals that of an African Ostrich. It is quite possible that the head, which is very often represented by the best artists as too big proportionately, is also too big here, and consequently that the neck should be thinner. The same remark is perhaps to be made with regard to the feet, which should be longer just as much as the body is too thick. As it, however, would be very presumptuous to make further inferences in this respect from pure analogies, we limit ourselves here to these remarks. But in order to make them more obvious to the eye, we have prepared a new drawing of this bird of the natural size, in which we have introduced the corrections just mentioned. We have here represented the bird in profile (see fig. p. 365), that one may gain a better idea of this animal—especially as Leguat has so drawn the tail (apparently that it might be better shown), and not half or three-fourths turned, as are the remaining parts.

"When we compare this bird with other species of the Waterhen—(or Rail)—family, we shall observe that, although constructed precisely on their ground-plan, it differs from them in several respects, especially in its gigantic size, its tall figure, its long neck, its proportionally very small body, and its white colour. One might, for the first three reasons, principally, regard it as representing the Crane-form among the Waterhens. Notwithstanding that it far exceeded in height even the largest of marsh-birds, its weight would yet be, in proportion to this extraordinary height, but very little, and with the help of its long toes it would consequently be able, as the Water-hens do, to run over marshy plains without sinking.

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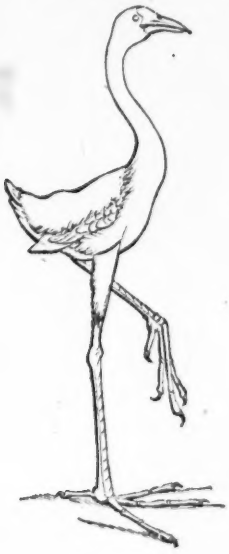
[1] "There arises, however, with me the question whether in this comparison Leguat meant the body with, or (as sportsmen often do) without the feathers. In the last probable case, the body will have had, as occurs in the Waterhens, from their long and loose feathers, a much more considerable bulk than that of a Goose, the feathers of which are short and closely compressed."

"Although it could fly it had much trouble, according to Leguat, in rising from the ground, and its flight was doubtless slow and difficult, owing to the shortness of its wings and the length of its legs and neck. It is probable that, like all Waterhens, it could run fast, though not fast enough to escape from dogs, as Leguat states that they could catch it, and that it tried to save itself by flying up. As all marsh-birds, at least when



Le Géant.

they are obliged, can swim, and Waterhens, in particular, swim voluntarily and even very much, so this bird also will have swum regularly, and probably very well, owing to its light weight and the extraordinary development of its legs and long toes serving as oars. There is also no reason to suppose that its food and way of breeding would have been very different from that of the Waterhens. It was doubtless a stationary bird, being unfitted for migration; and there was no occasion for it to undertake

voyages. This seems to be all that one can, with any probability, guess concerning its mode of life. Why, however, was this Waterhen so gigantic? Why was this gigantic animal just destined for such a small place on our globe—a place where arose neither great rivers nor extensive marshes? Why should it be in colour entirely white, and differ in that respect from all the species of the family?[1] Human knowledge fails to answer these questions, and they will, accordingly, it is probable, always remain riddles to us, the more so as this magnificent creature, like so many others, is withdrawn for ever from our gaze.

"We have still another question to decide: How comes it that Leguat is the only writer who has observed this gigantic Waterhen of Mauritius, while the voyagers who visited the island before him speak of several other most remarkable birds which they met with, but not this one? To explain the fact, one must evidently infer that the voyagers only made mention of the productions which they met with in the neighbourhood of their anchoring-places, and that the giant bird of Leguat did not frequent those places, because there were no marshes. This is no doubt the case with the harbour on the south-east coast, where the ships regularly come to land, and where stood in Leguat's time, and long after, the only port in the island.

"All travellers report that the ground then was stony and unfruitful. It was at this place that the companions of Van

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[1] Since Professor Schlegel's paper was written, attention has been called to the White Gallinule, figured in *Phillip's Voyage to Botany Bay*, London, 1789 (p. 273), and in *White's Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, London, 1790 (p. 238)—a bird which is said to have formerly inhabited Lord Howe's and Norfolk Islands. This species Dr. Von Pelzeln refers (*Sitz. Akad. Wien.*, xli, p. 331) to the genus *Notornis* (cf. *Ibis*, 1860, pp. 422-423); and Mr. G. R. Gray (*Ibis*, 1862, p. 240) to that of *Porphyrio*. We know of only two specimens still existing, one at Vienna, obtained from the Leverian Museum, the other in the Derby Museum, at Liverpool, from Bullock's collection. (This last example, according to Professor A. Newton, seems to be an albino of the ordinary Australian *Porphyrio*.) It would be very interesting to know if the bird is still found on either of the islands named. It is the *Gallinula alba* of Latham. (Editor of *Ibis*, Dr. P. L. Sclater.)

Neck and his successors observed the Dodo and the other birds which they describe. One must, therefore, suppose that Leguat and his comrades, who passed through the wilderness lying on the other side of the island, where fowling furnished them without trouble with abundant food (see p. 147), met with our gigantic bird by the rivers and marshes of these districts, while they were unknown to those who from time to time landed and again departed, as well as to the Europeans dwelling in the fort. In Leguat's time, however, there were, besides the Europeans dwelling in the fort, from thirty to forty Dutch families scattered over the island and there established. They lived partly by hunting, and had dogs expressly for this purpose. These Europeans living apart, the dogs (which, as we have seen from Leguat, easily overpowered the gigantic birds), the cats, and later, perhaps, the runaway negroes, have probably thus silently continued the work of destruction, and also completely extirpated this remarkable animal. How quickly and secretly such a destruction can be effected is proved, among other instances, by the history of the different species of Dodo on the Mascarene Islands. Even the great Dodo of Mauritius, first made known in 1598, was no more mentioned by any traveller after 1681 (see *Strickland*, p. 36); and Leguat, who recorded so many observations on the productions of the countries which he visited (1690-98), makes no mention of this strange bird. It must, therefore, be inferred that the Dodo, when Leguat was in Mauritius, was already extirpated, at least in the inhabited and accessible districts of the island. Perhaps also the abode of this bird, in contradistinction to that of the gigantic Waterhen, was limited to the stony, dry places which are round the south-east harbour, where it was observed in great numbers, and at which spot all the accounts of this bird were obtained."

[Leguat himself speaks of the extraordinary decrease of the animals of the island, see p. 209.]

[The remains of the Dodo have been since found in the *Mare aux Songes*, a marsh near Pte. d'Esny, close by Mahébourg. The remains of the *Géant* should be sought for in the *Mare aux Vacoas*, or *Grand Bassin* nearer the Rivière Noire (Zwarte River), where Leguat landed in 1693.—S. P. O.]

"It remains for us to inquire whether the Géant of Leguat was also found in the neighbouring island of Réunion or elsewhere. The only writer who makes mention of a gigantic marsh-bird in Réunion, and this under the self-same name of *Géant*, is the Marquis du Quesne. . . . . In his work, according to Leguat, the *Géants* are named among the birds of Bourbon. (See *ante*, p. 44.) That by these *Géants* the *Solitaires* of Mascaregne (Réunion) cannot be meant, appears by their manner of living, and by the taste of their flesh. To determine them more precisely is not very possible on account of the incompleteness of Du Quesne's account; but this still shows that there lived in Bourbon a gigantic marsh-bird, which, like the Dodo, has long ago vanished, and which probably was of the same species as the *Géant* of Leguat, or related to it, since it lived by rivers and lakes; and these, with marshes, form the abode of Waterhens."

Professor Schlegel thus places in the system, with the following attributes, the gigantic birds he has described :—

"GALLINULA (LEGUATIA) GIGANTEA. '*Le Géant*,' Leguat, *Voyage*, ii, p. 72, fig. '*Le Géant*,' Du Quesne, *apud* Leguat, *op. cit.*, i, p. 55. (?) '*Straussartiger Vogel*,' Hamel, *Bulletin Acad. St. Pétersb.*, viii, Nos. 5 and 6 (pp. 65-96). '*Flamingo*,' Strickland, *The Dido and its Kindred*, p. 50, *note*.

"Stature, six feet high. Body, not heavier than that of a goose. Wings pretty short, but fit for flight. Feathers of the tibia, reaching pretty close to the tarsus. Toes long and quite free, those in front about as long as the tarsus. Upper mandible extended in a plate reaching beyond the eye. General colour white, with a reddish spot under the wing. Colour of the feet and bill unknown, but probably not very remarkable, as the description does not mention it.

"*Hab.* Mauritius, perhaps Réunion (Bourbon); once accidentally met with in Rodriguez.

"Observed with certainty only by Leguat in 1694. Since that time not remarked again, and evidently long ago completely extirpated.

"Seems to represent the Crane-type among the Waterhens."

Fulica Newtonii.

Notes from a "Memoir on an Extinct Species of the Genus Fulica, which formerly inhabited the Island of Mauritius", by M. A. Milne-Edwards.[1]

The species, which M. Milne-Edwards notices in his memoir, belongs to the division of water-hens and to the genus Coot (*Foulque*), birds, rather runners and swimmers than flyers, and which never wander far from lakes or watercourses, on the borders of which they construct their nests, and easily find their food.

(The bones which were examined seem to have belonged to several individuals, and some were black and others brown, like the *débris* of the Dodo exhumed from the deposits in the marsh at Mauritius, known as the *Mare aux Songes*. . . .)

It is interesting to ascertain if the travellers who visited the Mascarene Islands at the time when the Dodo still existed had any knowledge of the *Fulica Newtonii*, Newton's Coot. The most precise information which we have upon the fauna of these islands has been transmitted to us by Dubois, who visited this region from 1669 to 1672.

This author, in his description of the river-birds of the island of Bourbon, speaks of "Water-hens, which are as large as fowls; they are all black, and have a large white crest on the head."

These characteristics do not apply to the Coot, which is met with at the present day in the same localities, that is to say, the *Fulica cristata*, for this species is not only smaller than an ordinary fowl, but is remarkable for the frontal *plaque*, which is of a deep red, whilst with the bird of which Dubois speaks, the rostral *plaque* was entirely white.

From an examination of the bone of the foot of *Fulica Newtonii*, the size of the entire animal can be judged, it would be very near the size of a large fowl. These indications permit the supposition that the *Fulica Newtonii* could well be the species described by Dubois, and which, instead of being specially localised in Bourbon, also inhabited Mauritius.

[1] *Ann. Sc. Nat.*, 5 Ser. Zool., viii, pp. 194-220.

There is not to be found in the work of Leguat any passage which can be applied with certainty to this bird, for, when he says, "The island (Mauritius) was formerly filled with Geese and with Wild Ducks, Water-hens, Wood-hens (*Gelinottes*), Turtles, and Tortoises, but all that is become rare,"[1] there is nothing to prove that these Water-hens were Coots; and if they belonged to this genus it would be reasonable to suppose that he here spoke of the *Fulica cristata*.

M. Milne-Edwards then proceeds to explain how the disappearance of such a bird can be accounted for, in the same manner as other unwieldy birds which cannot fly well soon become extinct when brought into contact with man and carnivorous beasts. So the giant Coot of Chili, the Dinornis of New Zealand, and the Æpyornis of Madagascar, the Dodo of Mauritius, the Solitaire of Rodriguez, and even the Great Auk, despite its rapidity in swimming and the bad flavour of its flesh. So also the Apteryx of New Zealand and the Rhinochetus of New Caledonia are becoming daily more rare; and if the Cassowaries and the Ostriches are yet common, it is only attributable to the immensity of the desert plains where they dwell.

M. Milne-Edwards continues: "The Mascarene Islands are of so inconsiderable extent that they have not been able long to serve as a refuge for birds of massive form, which lived there in great numbers at an epoch when man had not yet penetrated to them.

"The Coot of Newton formed part of this ancient and so remarkable fauna, which also counted among its representatives the Dodos of Mauritius and Bourbon, the Solitaire, the Géant (*Leguatia Gigantea*), the Blue-bird, which Mr. Schlegel refers without doubt to the genus Notornis, and two extinct species of parrots. Several of these birds have been only met with, and some are only known by a fragment of skeleton, the others by a short description or an imperfect drawing: there are yet therefore many discoveries to awaken the attention of all zoologists, and ought to incite them to combine their efforts to lift the veil which

[1] See *ante*, p. 209.

hides from us the greatest part of these forms so curious of a population now disappeared entirely."

Addendum to Appendix D.

By the courtesy of Professor Newton a facsimile is here given from Plate II, of Part V, de Bry's *India Orientalis*,[1] which well illustrates the life and surroundings of the first Dutch colonists when they settled in Mauritius in 1598. The title of the first copper-plate engraving is:—"Delineatio insulæ Doceme, alias Mauritius dicta."—And the second, here reproduced, is entitled:—Quae ab Hollandis in insula Mauritii, tum visa tum gesta sint."—Here are shown the land-tortoises, the dodo, the Latanier palm, the *Rabos Forcados*, the Indian Crow, so called (but which Professor Newton considers to be intended for the *Psittacus Mauritianus*, whose most extraordinary feature is the singular frontal crest (*Ibis*, 1866, p. 168), on account of which he proposes to name the group of Parrots of which it is the type, *Lophopsittacus*), the heraldic insignia on a wild tree, the cabbage palm, the flying-fox, the smithy, the huts, the preaching and the fishing, etc. In fact, the quaint engraving does not inaptly represent the first operations of colonists in the Mascarene islands up to the time when Leguat and his companions landed in them a hundred years later.

Mr. Strickland,[2] in his history of the extinct brevipennate birds of the Mascarene Islands (at page 26) quotes a MS. document in the British Museum, entitled "A coppey of Mr. Benj. Harry's Journall, when he was chief mate of the Shippe *Berkley Castle*, Captain Wm. Talbot then Commander, on a voyage to the coste

[1] *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem & Indiam Occidentalem XXV partibus comprehensae; Opus illustratum figuris æneis fratrum de Bry & Meriani.* Francofurti at Mœnum 1590, & ann. seq. ad ann. 1634, 7 vol. in fol. Pars quinta.

[2] *The Dodo and its Kindred, or the History, Affinities, and Osteology of the Dodo, Solitaire, and other Extinct Birds of the Islands Mauritius, Rodriguez, and Bourbon*, by H. E. Strickland and A. G. Melville, Part I, by H. E. Strickland.

and bay, 1679, which voyage they wintered at the Maurrisshes" (*fourteen years before Legual's arrival in Mauritius*).

"After all these turmoyles and various accidents, wee the beginning of 7ber. brought all to a period: one parte of our misery wass that that time wee designed for recreation wee were forc^{t} imp^{t} in Labour.

"The ayre whilst wee have been here hath been very temperate, neither over hott nor over cold; itt hath been showery 3 or 4 Days sucksessively, and showery in the night, sometimes a Sea Brees, little wind morning and evenings.

"Now having a little respitt I will make a little description of the island, first of its Producks then of itts parts: Ffirst of winged and feathered ffowle, the less passant are Dodos whose fflesh is very hard. A small sort of Gees, reasonably good Teele, Curleves, Pasca fflemingos, Turtle Doves, large Batts, many small Birdes which are good.

"The Dutch pleading a propriety to the island because of their settlement have made us pay for goates 1*d*. per pound or $\frac{1}{2}$ piece of 8 per head, the which goates are butt reasonably good, these wild, as allso the deer which are as large as I believe any in the world, and as good fflesh in their seasons; for these 3 pie of 8 per head, Bullocks large 6 pie of 8 per head: (that) ys for victualling, heer are many wild hoggs and land turtle which are very good, other small creators on the Land, as Scorpions and Musketoes, these in small numbers. Ratts and ffleys a multitude, Munkeys of various sorts.

"In the woodes Eaboney, Box, Iron wood blacke and read, a false but not lasting fire, various sortes of other wood, though heavy yett good for fiering.

"In ye Sea and River, green tortoise very good, Shirkes, Doggs, Mulletts, Jackabeirs (butt nott good though some 70 lb.), Breams, Pomfletts, Plaise, a ffish like a Salmond, and heer soe called, but full of small Boanes forked, severall sortes of read ffish butt nott houlsome, various sortes of small ffish for the Pann, good oysters and Crabes, Ells large and good.

"Herbage ffruite and Graine ffrench or Cidney Beans, Patatoes, sallating; Pumplemuses, oranges. . . . ."

E.

THE GIGANTIC MASCARENE TORTOISES.

For many years Dr. Albert Günther, of the British Museum, informs us, naturalists were much exercised in curiosity by the shells of tortoises of enormous size that were brought home in vessels coming from India.[1] "From the greater convexity of their shell, these animals were known to be terrestrial and distinct from the marine turtles. From the accounts of voyagers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century it was found that these huge individuals of the Chelonian order existed in two widely separated regions, one being the Galapagos group in the Pacific, the others being certain islands in the Indian Ocean; yet, curiously enough, it does not appear that the intervening lands have contained within the historic period similar creatures. Leguat (*vide ante*, p. 70) mentions the immense numbers of land tortoises he and his companions found in Rodriguez; and, indeed, when we consider that the helpless creatures lived for ages in perfect security from all enemies, and that nature had endowed them with a most extraordinary degree of longevity, so that the individuals of many generations lived simultaneously in their island home, we can well account for the multitudes found by the first comers. For a period of more than a century they afforded wholesome food to the crews of passing ships; for these animals could be carried in the hold of a ship without food for many months, and could be slaughtered as occasion required, each tortoise yielding from 80 to 300 pounds of fresh meat, and we read that ships leaving Mauritius were wont to take on board upwards of 400 of these animals. . . . .

"Down to 1740 tortoises continued to be numerous in Mauritius, as Baron Grant writes (*History of Mauritius*, p. 194):—"If,

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[1] *Philosophical Transactions*, paper read before Royal Society, June 1874.

however, we are not rich in cattle, we possess a great abundance of fowl as well as both land and sea-turtle, which are not only a great resource for the supply of our ordinary wants, but serve to barter with the crews of the ships who put in here for refreshment in their voyage to India." But they appear to have been much more scattered in the larger islands of Mauritius and Réunion, than in the smaller island of Rodriguez, for in 1761 Admiral Kempenfeldt writes:—"The best production of the island is the land turtle, which is in great abundance. Small vessels are continually employed in transporting them by thousands to the Isle of Mauritius, for the service of the hospital."[1]

Their number, Dr. Günther goes on to tell us, "rapidly diminished owing to their consumption, as above evidenced, as well as by the wide-spread and frequent conflagrations of the woods, by which the island has been well-nigh disforested, so that early in the present century the work of extermination was accomplished, and, so far as is known, there is not a single living example left alive at the present day. In the small island of Aldabra alone there still linger, in a wild state, a few representatives of this ancient Chelonian race, the contemporaries of the Dodo, the Géant, and the Solitaire. Even here the animals are constantly destroyed by the whalers, and the young tortoises and eggs are eaten up by the pigs which have been left there, and which have multiplied rapidly."

Leguat's account of the land-tortoises at Rodriguez corresponds closely with the experiences of the Dutch at Mauritius as recorded in their second voyage of 1598. Professor Newton furnishes a quaint copper-plate engraving which well illustrates the ponderous size of these huge chelonians, taken from de Bry's

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1 "The principal point of view (in Rodriguez) is first the French Governor's house, or rather that of the Superintendent, appointed by the Governor of the Isle of France to direct the cultivation of the gardens there, and overlooks the park of land turtles. Secondly, the park of land-turtles, which is on the sea-shore, facing the house." (Admiral Kempenfeldt's *Report*, quoted by Viscount de Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 101.)

well-known *India Orientalis* before mentioned.[1] The title to this drawing, a facsimile of which is here given, runs thus:—"Quomodo Hollandi in Mauritii insulâ ingentes Testudines inuenerint." And the description as follows: "Cum Hollandicæ naues An. 1598, in Indiam expedirentur, in transitu Insulam quandam, Mauritij dictam occuparunt: quæ testudines peltatas tam grandes ferebat ut super una duo insidentes Hollandi, non secus ac ne minimu graues, citra omne impedimentum longê, proferrentur. Illarum nonnullæ ad eam usque magnitudine crescunt, vt in vnius auulsa testa decem viri commode sedere & epulari potuerint. In eadem Insula psittacorum columbarumque numerum quoque maximum repererunt tam ciéurum, ut fustibus eas prostrauerint. Sed et aliæ ibidem aves visæ sunt, quas Walckvögel Batavi nominarunt et unam secum in Hollandiam importarunt."

A large example of what was probably one of the last of the Rodriguez species was imported more than half a century ago to England, and kept at the Zoological Gardens, where it was living when described in the *Proceedings* of the Zoological Society (1833, p. 81). It weighed 289 lbs., the shell being 4 ft. 4¼ ins. in length (over the curve), and 4 ft. 9 ins. in width.

When Mauritius was surrendered to General Abercrombie, in 1810, among the ordnance stores handed over to and taken in charge by the Royal Artillery there was a huge land tortoise which, not improbably, may be a Rodriguez animal, as from its size it must certainly have been living in the days of Leguat. It is still alive, and has been a denizen of Artillery Place and the barracks

[1] Pars quarta. After the text, which finishes at p. iii, are to be found the plates which belong to this part, entitled:—"Icones seu genuinæ et expressæ delineationes eorum omnium quæ in hac quarta Indiæ orientalis descriptione singularia offeruntur. Vbi peregrinorum quorundam animalium, arborum, fructuum, plantarumque, &c. aliàs non visorum viva effigies exhibetur. Quæ omnia et sumptuosis impensis, & opera accurata in æs incisa, publicæque luci communicata sunt à Joanne Theodorico et Joanne Israële de Bry fratribus & ciuibus Moeno Francofurteusibus. Francoforti Imprimebat Matthæus Becker. Anno MDCI."

in Port Louis ever since, having survived many accidents and cruel experiments. Its shell is 9 ft. 3 ins. in circumference, and it stands 2 ft. 6 ins. high.[1]

Measures have been taken to preserve the tortoises in Aldabra, and some of these chelonians have been introduced into Flat Island near Mauritius, by the Mauritius Acclimatisation Society, and are, it is said, thriving if not multiplying. They lay their eggs three times in the year.

In the Botanical Gardens of Pamplemousses, in Mauritius, are two tortoises, of which one, measuring 7 ft. 2 ins. in circumference, stands 1 ft. 8 in. in height; and there are others at Rivière Sèche, belonging to M. Castel, and another to M. Daruty, at Mon Trésor, near Mahébourg, in Mauritius.

There are others in the Seychelles Islands, whence two fine specimens have been brought to the Zoological Gardens; and there were for a long time till lately (dating from before the days of Napoleon) two fine specimens in the grounds of Plantation House, at St. Helena, where one died in 1877.[2]

The osseous remains of the Rodriguez tortoises,[3] which Dr. Günther has examined, and for which he was indebted to M. Bouton and the Trustees of the Glasgow Museum, were found to include some exceedingly large bones, larger than any of those from Mauritius, and they must have belonged, he states, to individuals of the size of the large living males of Aldabra. From the perforation of the neural arch of the sixth nuchal vertebra Dr. Günther determines that these animals had the habit of bringing the neck in a vertical position, so that these

[1] See memorandum by Mr. Littleton, in *Nature*, Aug. 23, 1883, p. 308.

[2] Three enormous tortoises were brought from the Seychelles Islands to the Jardin d'Acclimatisation at Paris, in July 1878. The largest weighed no less than 187 kilogrammes (nearly 4 cwt.), and measured 1.17 mètres in diameter, about 46 inches, and in 1883 some large Aldabra tortoises were placed on Flat Island, by the Mauritius Acclimatisation Society.

[3] See *Gigantic Land-Tortoises, Living and Extinct, in the Collection of the British Museum*, by A. C. L. G. Günther, M.D., F.R.S., Keeper of the department of Zoology, 1877, p. 52.

two vertebræ were standing nearly at a right angle. It will be remembered that Leguat mentions (*ante*, p. 71)—"There's one thing very odd among them; they always place Sentinels at some Distance from their Troop, at the four corners of their Camp, to which the Sentinels turn their Backs, and look with the Eyes as if they were on the Watch." This habit of raising their necks nearly perpendicular must have greatly aided the capability of seeing to some distance around them which these animals seem to have possessed.

Dr. Günther assumes that "some land tortoises were carried by stream or current from Madagascar or Africa to the Mascarene Islands, in preference to assuming a former continuity of land between the Mascarene Archipelago and Africa"; but the direction of the great equatorial current, and prevailing south-east trade wind, militate considerably against the theory.

"With this hypothesis" (of submergence of land between the Mascarene Islands), writes Dr. Günther, "we should be obliged to contend for this animal type an age extending over enormous periods of time, of which the period required for the loss of power of flight in the Dodo or Solitaire is but a fraction." (See *Nature*, vol. xii, 1875, pp. 238, 259, 296.)

Of the remains from Rodriguez, the species *Testudo Vosmæri* can alone be distinguished; of this reptile an extensive series is preserved in the Cambridge Museum, from Newton's find.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

(*See pp.* 74-75.)

THE DUGONG, HALI[illegible]RE DUGONG, LEGUAT'S "MANATI".

LEGUAT was the first European to record the existence and observe the habits of the remarkable animal forming the subject of this note. During the nearly three years' stay he and his companions made on the island of Rodriguez, they used it as their principal food, and had unexampled opportunities of observing it. The account he gives of it is in the main quite in accord with the investigations of modern naturalists. I must premise these remarks by saying that the whole subject of the Sirenia has been treated in an exhaustive way in the *Proceedings* of learned societies, and there is really nothing new to add; but the readers of our books like to have before them the opinions of modern authorities on points of interest touched upon by the early travellers.

The geographical distribution of the Sirenia, as Dr. H. Woodward has shown in his treatises,[1] extended in pre-historic times over a very wide area, fossil remains of no less than twenty-seven species having been discovered in Tertiary strata as far north as lat. 60° N., and as far south as the tropic of Cancer. These earlier species may be considered the ancestors of existing forms, differing, however, so much from them as to suggest intervening forms which have not yet been found; though it has been ascertained that when changes took place in the physical conditions of European seas the genus *Halitherium* prevailed.[2]

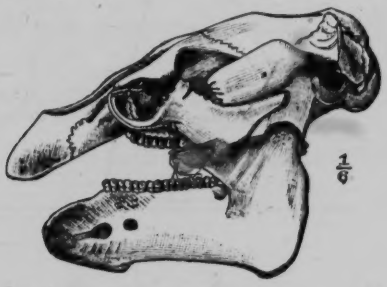
[1] *Geol. Mag.*, 1885, Dec. 3, vol. ii, pp. 412-25; and *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. Lond.*, 1885, vol. xli, pp. 457-72.

[2] H. Woodward, *op. cit.*

The Sirenia are allied to various orders of Mammalia, viz., to the *Cetacea* or whales, to the pachyderms, according to de Blainville and others, and possibly to the Ungulates; but they have peculiarities which distinguish them from all these orders. Their external appearance naturally suggested an affinity with the whales, but a closer examination showed striking points of contrast. The whale, with his huge jaws and enormous head, is carnivorous in its diet, while the Sirenia are herbivorous, their food consisting of aquatic plants, or of marine algæ growing in shallow waters. Unlike the whales, their heads are small in proportion to their bodies, and rounded rather than elongated. They have, too, this distinguishing peculiarity, that the cervical vertebræ (only six in number in the American species) are free and movable and form a neck enabling the animal to turn its head about, while in the case of the whale, the head and body are united together in one compact mass, the neck being almost immovable. Another peculiarity is the formation of the fore-limbs. These, instead of being pectoral fins, as in the whale tribe generally, have the character of the arm and hand of the higher mammalia, whence the name "Manatee", from *Manus*, given to the best known of the living species. The digits of the *Manus* are not, however, separate, but there is evidence of nails on the end of the fingers, which are united to form a flipper or paddle-like organ. This fore limb, capable of being moved at the elbow joint, is used by the animal to assist in bringing food to its mouth, and in the case of the females, to hold their young to the breast. Their fish-like form and peculiarly human way of suckling their young, suggested to the early navigators the idea of Sirens or mermaids, whence the name given to the order. They have also a few hairs on their thick, wrinkled skins, as Leguat correctly observes, while the whale has a perfectly smooth, glistening, hairless skin.

It is, however, in their dentition that the Sirenia differ in the most marked way from the whales, and approach the elephant and hippopotamus. The adult Dugong has a pair of tusk-like incisors in the upper jaw, and two (rarely three) molars, separated by a wide interval, on each side, above and below, making fourteen

teeth in all; the Manatee has forty-eight teeth altogether, viz.: 4 milk-incisors (which speedily disappear), and 44 molars and premolars, resembling, in pattern, the same teeth in the *Hippopotamus*, but very much smaller. The extinct edentulous Rhytina is nearer the Dugong than any other living species, having only two



MANATEE.

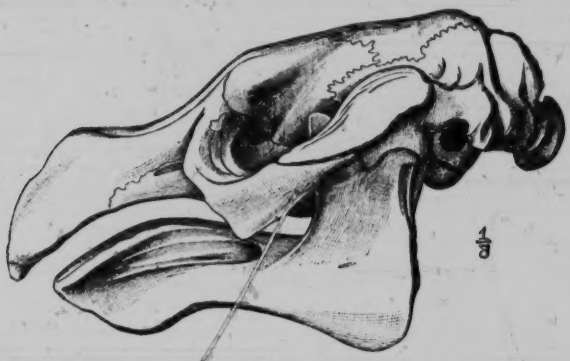
milk incisors, the absence of teeth being supplied by a horny covering on the jaws, gums, and palate, of peculiar structure, enabling the animal to masticate its food. These distinctions between the three genera of Manatee, Dugong, and Rhytina, are illustrated in

DUGONG.

the accompanying woodcuts, drawn from skulls preserved in the British Museum of Natural History, Cromwell Road, where

also a complete skeleton of Rhytina, from the peat of Behring's Island, is exhibited. The skeleton[1] of all the varieties is remarkable for the massiveness of the bones, especially of the ribs, which are intensely hard, and it is doubtless owing to the specific gravity of these that the animals are enabled to keep their bodies much below the surface in shallow waters whilst feeding on the marine vegetation.

Turning now to the literature of the subject, we find a curious figure of the killing of the Manatee by the natives in America in De Bry.[2] One is represented astride of the animal, driving wooden plugs into its nostrils, while another is towing it behind his canoe. Another curious illustration may be seen in a Spanish



RHYTINA.

work on the Orinoco by Father Joseph Gumilla.[3] In it the Manatee is represented on its back suckling two young, one under each flipper.

But our first real knowledge of this group of animals dates from the time of the German naturalist Steller, who, with the Russian captain and celebrated navigator Vitus Behring, were cast on an

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[1] H. Woodward, *Geol. Mag.*, 1885, p. 422.

[2] Frankfort, 1602. *America*, part 9.

[3] *El Orinoco illustrado y defendido, Historia natural, Civil y geographica de este gran Rio*; Madrid, 1745, vol. ii, p. 112.

island in Behring's Straits in 1741, where the latter died. Steller saw vast numbers of the Rhytina, called, after him, Steller's sea-cow, or *vache marine*, pasturing in the shallows along the shore and collected in herds like cattle. As they fed they raised their heads every four or five minutes to breathe, before descending to browse on the thick beds of seaweed surrounding the coast. When full-grown, Steller says they attained a length of thirty-five feet and a weight of three or four tons, so that it required forty men to drag the body of one to land. Steller's report of their being good for food led to their complete annihilation, within the short space of forty years, 1741-1781; for when subsequent investigators visited Behring's and Copper Islands for the purpose of securing specimens, they did not find a single living one, or any of its bones. It was not till nearly a century later that a skull was obtained for the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, enabling Brandt to write his masterly monograph, entitled *Symbolæ Sirenologicæ*.[1] So little, indeed, was known of the animal at this time, that we find naturalists describing the Rhytina as a gigantic Manatee, giving it the name of "Le Grand Lamantin de Kamschatka". Cuvier was the first to distinguish it as a separate species, preserving, however, the name Lamantin, and calling it *Lamantin du nord;* while Illiger grouped these animals apart, and distinguished the three species, Manatee, Halicore, and Rhytina, placing them between the seals and *Cetacea*.

Within the last few years two living Manatees have been brought to this country[2]; one lived in the Zoological Gardens, where it died in 1889; the other flourished for several months at the Westminster Aquarium, till one cold day in March its keeper carelessly left the plug of its tank drawn, the water drained away, and the poor animal caught such a severe chill that it never recovered.

Dr. Woodward, who has kindly revised this note, adds the following:—

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[1] *Mém. Imp. Acad. Sci. St. Pétersburg*, 1846, vime série, pt. ii; *Sci. Nat.*, vol. v, livr. iv, pp. 1-160, tab. i-v.

[2] See the admirable Memoir by Dr. J. Murie, F.L.S., *Trans. Zool. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 167, 1872.

The Manatee still inhabits the east coasts and the great rivers of South America, such as the Orinoco, the west coast of subtropical Africa, the Gaboon, and adjacent shores. The Dugong occupies the east coast of Africa, from the Red Sea to the tropic of Capricorn; also the coasts of the East Indies and as far south as the north and east coasts of Queensland, Australia. But within late historic times the geographical distribution of the living Sirenia has everywhere become more and more restricted, and their extinction by man seems imminent, owing to the narrow limitation of their feeding-ground, which is confined to those spots in comparatively shallow water along those coasts only where marine algæ occur in most abundance.

E. D. M.

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[1] N.B.—The entries in the "Table" of the original version are distinguished by heavy type.

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[1] *Sic*, in English version, in the French original, "*Etui des Hottentots*".

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